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Wendell Willkie

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WENDELL WILLKIE died at exactly the wrong hour. His job had just begun. Everything he had done in the past was preparatory to what lay ahead. Far from being a man whose career had been ended by defeat and the repudiation of his party, he was, instead, a man whose real career did not begin until *after* defeat and repudiation. When he died, Willkie had reached the end of one road. Ahead lay no clearly marked path, but a political wilderness. He was already attacking the underbrush with vigorous slashing strokes. He died before he had made any appreciable headway.

No one can say where or how far Willkie would have gone if he had been able to push on. But it was easy to see the direction he was taking. He was trying to find the way toward a coalition of the liberal forces in American political life.

Plenty of progressives were suspicious of Willkie's motives. They couldn't believe that a man who had served as a utilities executive and fought the TVA and run for President on the Republican ticket could practice what Willkie has been preaching with growing vigor and political coherence ever since 1940. They said he was ambitious; they thought he had something up his sleeve.

Well, I believe Willkie was ambitious. But I've noticed this: ambition only becomes a vice when it is lodged in somebody you disapprove of for some other reason. In yourself or your son or daughter ambition is just one of those qualities that have been the making of America. Willkie's ambition was as evident as his charm and his immense vigor. He wanted to be President. But when a man who wants to be President, who has already run for President and, though defeated, received a bigger popular vote than any other Republican candidate, winner or loser, had ever received—when that man risks his chance of a second nomination on his ability to convince the people of the toughest isolationist state in the country that they must favor international cooperation, then his ambition takes on aspects of heroism. Wendell Willkie was a high-hearted gambler against long odds. If we had more such in politics, the future of this country would look less precarious.

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Wendell Willkie could have had the Republican nomination this year if he had played the game by the conventional rules; if he had played it the way Dewey did. Willkie chose a different way. He didn't want to lead an unregenerate Republican Party through a campaign planned to circumnavigate the great issues dividing the country. When he proved to his own satisfaction that the party would not follow him, he dropped that fight and took up another one.

What Willkie wanted was a progressive movement in this country which would draw its mass support from both old parties. He was convinced that the Democratic Party was destined to pass into the control of its most reactionary elements and become rapidly weaker even if Mr. Roosevelt was reelected. He believed the Republican Party was already firmly under the domination of the Old Guard. He saw a probability that new coalitions would be forged in the heat of the terrific political conflicts ahead. Already the reactionaries of both parties in Congress have formed a working alliance on most fundamental issues. The progressives too, he believed, could be drawn together if events made the need of such a realignment obvious and if leadership were available to seize the opportunity and turn it to account.

I didn't know Willkie well and certainly he confided no secrets in me, but I feel sure, none the less, that he hoped to build such a political movement—and that he hoped to lead it. Whether he could have succeeded in this venture, no one will ever know. But even the effort would have had an invigorating, cleansing effect on the political system of this country.

Where Willkie found the vision that led him to his final magnificent gamble, I don't know. Perhaps in the anguish of a world struggling to be free—a world he gave himself time to look at and think about and, at last, to identify himself with. But I believe the vision was genuine. And I bitterly regret that he could not live to bring it nearer to reality. His death is a tragedy for America.

The Shape of Things

THE CIRCLE ABOUT GERMANY CONSTRICTED again last week, and in the west there were hopeful signs that the circumference was being punctured. With promises of success around Aachen, in Greece and the Balkans, in Hungary, and in Lithuania, the Allied cause appears brighter than it did after the failure at Arnhem. Saturday's break-through north of Aaachen followed four days of bitter fighting in which General Hodges's troops widened and deepened their original penetration at Uebach. Allied pressure farther south, between Metz and Nancy, and farther north, in the Nijmegen salient, prevents the Germans from moving reserves to the point of the break-through, and they will find it difficult to deliver the sustained counter-attacks which alone can hope to close the gap again. Once the present difficult terrain is traversed, the crossing of the Rhine will become the chief Allied problem. Its eventual crossing is inevitable, but the real problem is the race against time—to build up superior strength in men and material before winter closes down. Meanwhile the Germans have continued their rapid evacuation of the Balkans, speeded by the British in Greece and threatened with being cut off by the Russians and Tito at Belgrade. Here the question is not whether Hitler can hold the Balkans—he has virtually lost them—but whether he can get his troops out to the north in time to take part in the decisive battles on the borders of the Reich.

*

THE RUSSIANS ARE PUSHING RAPIDLY toward the southern border, having advanced through the Carpathians and on to the Hungarian plain. With their troops at the end of very long lines of communication, they are presumably having almost as many supply troubles as the Anglo-American forces in the west; but they are now in ideal country for a swift war of movement, and we may see a drive northwestward to Budapest, Vienna, and the weakly-defended south of Germany. The clearing of the Reich's outer positions also continues on the northern sector of the eastern front, where four days of battle last week won the Red Army a broad break-through and deep penetration of the enemy lines in Lithuania. The very fact that Goebbels and Himmler are exhorting the German people to prepare for guerrilla warfare seems to indicate that they may expect the end of organized resistance to come suddenly.

*

THE LANDING IN GREECE WAS ACCOMplished not by the Allies but by a few thousand British troops, and it is possible that American troops did not participate because of general recognition among the great powers of Britain's "sphere of influence" in Greece. Moreover, a great part of the country had already been liberated by the Greeks themselves. The Greek underground, one of the best-organized in Europe, has claimed that if material aid had been sent by the United Nations, it would have cast out the Germans and Bulgarians entirely. It becomes apparent that the aims of the invasion are primarily political rather than military. British diplomacy has consistently supported the return of King George II to the throne, despite the antagonism which the Greek people have indicated toward him and his regime. An assembly elected in Greece last March under the auspices of the Greek underground has discarded the concept of monarchy. The flags displayed in the towns and villages

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through which the British are now passing no longer bear the royal insignia but are the flags of the republic. The demand of the people everywhere in Greece is more for democracy than for bread. The next few weeks will prove whether democracy in Greece is to be reestablished without the Greeks' being forced to fight for it.

*

THE TAUNTS OF THE POLISH LUBLIN GROUP mingling with the recriminations of the Polish government in London provide a ghoulish backdrop for the funeral pyre of the defenders of Warsaw. The capture by the Germans of General Komorowski, leader of the Warsaw partisans, puts a period to the incredibly gallant resistance, which lasted sixty-three days. Some assert that "General Bor's" order to rise was premature and was issued without consultation with Moscow or London. But with the Moscow radio exhorting the Warsaw populace to revolt and with the spearpoint of the Red Army touching the outskirts of Praga on the right bank of the Vistula, who could foresee that the German panzer divisions would send the Russians reeling back, leaving the Warsaw rebels isolated? Some say that the Russians deliberately refused supplies, for political reasons. This we do not believe. It is more likely that the scattered disposition of Komorowski's forces made it impossible to drop supplies by parachute with any assurance that they would not reach the enemy. On the other hand, we do not believe that Komorowski precipitated the Warsaw uprising solely to gain a political advantage for his faction. Politics, miscalculation, and the fortunes of war have combined to bring about a tragedy of inconceivable magnitude. The division among the Polish people must not be allowed to generate a split in the United Nations. As for the men, women, and children who died in Warsaw, their only fitting memorial will be a united and independent Poland.

*

ALARMED BY THE PRESENCE IN SOUTHERN France of some 45,000 Spanish members of the *Maquis*, Franco has appealed to his British friends to come to his aid. Intense pressure is being exerted upon General de Gaulle through the Allied representatives in France to dissolve the Spanish units, and Ambassador Hayes seems to be playing an important role. The Falange Radio became almost hysterical over the week-end, alternately flattering and threatening the De Gaulle government. We can understand Franco's panic now that his "comrades in arms," the Nazis, have been removed from the Spanish frontier. But we cannot understand the behavior of the British and American governments. The Spaniards of the *Maquis* are part of the F. F. I. To ask De Gaulle to proceed against them is to bring the French resistance forces into open conflict with the French government at the very moment when unity in France is most urgently needed. As we go to press, a United Press cable from San Sebastian reports that two American divisions are expected in Biarritz to "maintain order" on the French-Spanish frontier. We have seen many contradictions in this war for democracy, but none would compare with the spectacle of American soldiers fighting Spanish Republicans in defense of a dictator who is an enemy of the United States.

*

SENATOR BALL'S ATTACK ON GOVERNOR Dewey's foreign-policy statements as vague and evasive came on the same day that Minnesota Republicans were engaged in meetings designed to heal party rifts and guarantee a G. O. P. vote sufficient to overcome Mr. Roosevelt's 1940 plurality of 48,000. There is no doubt that Ball's statement improved the President's chances. Midwestern Republicans hastily massed their heavy guns to answer. Governor Thye and the Minnesota national committeeman denounced their Senator, and there were reports that he would be read out of the party. Senator Burton, Republican co-sponsor of the famed B2H2 resolution, retorted that, so far as he was concerned, Mr. Dewey was sound on foreign policy. Cynics suggested that Mr. Ball desired Governor Dewey's defeat as part of Harold Stassen's projected 1948 campaign. The fact remains that the Minnesota Senator had little to gain and much to lose by suddenly "bolting" the Presidential ticket. His integrity on the foreign-policy issue is widely respected. When he says that he finds nothing in Governor Dewey's statements to convince him that the Republican candidate would fight vigorously for a foreign policy offering "real hope" of peace, some people are going to listen.

*

AL SMITH'S CAREER ENDED IN 1928 WHEN the country denied him the Presidency, for reasons based on bigotry and hypocrisy—he was a Roman Catholic and a "wet"—in favor of the dull, high-collared Herbert Hoover. Smith was embittered by that defeat and he had a right to be. Thereafter the man who had been born in the slums and by his gifts of intelligence, realism, and humor had risen to become one of the nation's great governors fell into bad company. The defender of the plain people began hobnobbing with du Ponts and joined the Liberty League. Under the impetus of a personal feud with his precocious successor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, he became a violent opponent of the New Deal—which was the spitting image of the deal he had given New York during his four terms as governor. But it is kinder, and fairer, too, if you "look at the record," to remember Al Smith in his brown derby—the red face, the smile with the cigar in it, the homely, whiplike, and always amusing retort to privilege—rather than in the top hat that never really suited him.

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The Real Subversives

WHEN Sidney Hillman was before the Special House Committee to investigate campaign expenditures, he challenged that body to look into the activities of such groups as the so-called American Democratic National Committee, Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party, Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, the National Economic Council, the United Mothers of America, the Anglo-Saxon Federation, and the National Association of Manufacturers. Hillman wanted to know why "the well-heeled activities of these agencies of reaction excite no comment and provoke no inquiry," while "political activity by labor excites such torrents of abuse." Much to the committee's credit and everyone's surprise, that challenge has been accepted. Representative Clinton P. Anderson, Democrat, of New Mexico, chairman of the committee, has turned the spotlight on those rightist and often subversive movements at which Hillman pointed.

Many millions of dollars are being spent through these organizations for the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt, and through them the Republican National Committee can evade the limitations that the law places on campaign expenditures and the publicity it requires. Perhaps the most striking result of the Anderson committee's activities is the indictment of Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government. Rumely declined to produce the committee's subscription list or disclose the names of its backers. The indictment has served again to call public attention to Rumely's extraordinary story. Here is a convicted German agent, a man who was found guilty of using the Kaiser's money to buy up American newspapers for pro-German propaganda in the last war. Protracted appeals kept him out of jail until 1924, when a commutation of sentence by President Coolidge reduced his sentence to one month in jail and restored his civil rights. A man with a record of this kind enjoys close and confidential relations with some of America's richest men. He organizes constant propaganda against the President, whom the Nazis hate even more than the Kaiser hated Wilson. When termites of this kind can operate with impunity in the United States, is it any wonder the Nazis were so contemptuous of the democratic capacity to resist them? We hope that Rumely will get the treatment in the courts that he deserves and that the committee will also ask the indictment of Joseph H. Kamp, who has likewise declined to give it access to the books of the Jew-baiting, Nazi-serving Contitutional Education League.

We are also indebted to Chairman Anderson and his committee for the revelation that Henry Ford's Man Friday, Harry Bennett, contributed $2,000 to the expenses of another of these native and imported fascists, Gerald L. K. Smith. Detroit labor leaders have long suspected that some of the automobile manufacturers were subsidizing this would-be Hitler as their counterparts helped finance the Führer in the Reich—and for the same reasons. It is interesting that Smith refused to name any of his other supporters. The Anderson committee is providing a glimpse of the rats who gnaw at the foundation of our society and of some in the upper brackets who aid and abet them. We hope it will not stop until they are all driven into the light of day.

New France

THE speech by General de Gaulle in Lille should dissipate any doubt about the position of France. It proves above all that France has a policy of its own and is determined to follow it instead of being led by the hand by the other great powers. The policy was not improvised under the pressure of popular emotion. Anyone who reads again the articles by Jules Moch published in *The Nation* in May of this year will see the great similarity between the plans reported by the Socialist leader and the last speech by the head of the French Provisional Government. In adopting a position against cartels, in initiating a New Deal for France, the Provisional Government is putting into effect a program fully elaborated in Algiers by the Committee of Liberation and the Consultative Assembly in cooperation with the representatives of the movement of resistance inside France. That fact gives greater meaning and strength to every one of the recent acts of the French government. The government may still be called "provisional," but the policy formulated by General de Gaulle is not provisional. Should France move in any direction, it will move forward, not back.

This is a fact whose importance extends far beyond the frontiers of France. Let us suppose that under the pressure of the British Tories and conservative elements in Washington, the Anglo-American Allies should try, as they have tried before, to prevent the deep changes already perceptible in almost every European country. Lacking a rallying point, the nations of Europe, "one by one," to use a favorite expression of Mr. Churchill, would encounter the greatest difficulty in resisting such pressure and pursuing a really progressive policy. Russia might sympathize with this movement, and yet not push its support to the point of endangering that collaboration among the United States, Great Britain, and itself which has become the key to the whole Soviet foreign policy.

The moment France took the road indicated by De Gaulle, the situation changed entirely. France transformed itself into a rallying point for all European progressive tendencies. Already the sympathies of the Spanish Republicans and of the Italian leftists are drawn

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toward France, as articles in the Spanish exile papers and the Italian press clearly show. The effect on the handling of the German problem cannot be ignored. A progressive France will be looked upon quite differently by the German people from the France of the twenties and thirties, when its industrial magnates were always ready to work with their counterparts across the Rhine, against the real interests of both the French and the German people. It will no longer be the Comité des Forges and the Ruhr barons who determine Franco-German relations.

That the Provisional Government feels itself strong is proved by its having called communal elections for the month of November. But in any case, even if De Gaulle should be overthrown, he would certainly not be replaced by Camille Chautemps or General Giraud but by someone farther to the left than himself. That is what makes Washington's attitude so absurd. In a cable from London to the New York *Times* on October 3, Raymond Daniell described the efforts of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden at Quebec to convince the President that De Gaulle's government should be recognized at once. "But Mr. Roosevelt," writes Mr. Daniell, "remained unconvinced. Therefore while Britain and the United States agree to exchange ambassadors with the Italian government, Washington and London will be represented in Paris by special representatives to the French Committee for National Liberation with the technical rank of ambassadors."

All of that is, to use a French word, very *mesquin,* very petty, but at the same time it is a major political blunder. Part of the damage which the international position of the United States has suffered as a result of the Administration's French policy can never be repaired. But persistence in the error may lead to disaster. On the eve of the Presidential election we ask again for immediate and full recognition of the government of General de Gaulle, both in the interest of France and in the interest of the good name of the United States.

The P. A. C. at Work

BY I. F. STONE

Chicago, October 6

IT WILL take the greatest outpouring of working-class votes in the history of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and the smaller Ohio industrial cities to counterbalance the rising anti-New Deal tide in the countryside and carry Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio for Roosevelt. For labor, more is at stake than the reelection of the President. With the emergence of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, labor is in politics as an organized force. If Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio go to F. D. R., despite the trend toward Republicanism, then the automobile workers, the steel workers, the rubber workers, the electrical workers, the packing-house workers will have proved as potent in politics as in collective bargaining. They will have stirred the fears and they will command the respect of the politicians, and the effect will be visible in the state legislatures and in Congress. Should Roosevelt lose these states, however, the politicians will figure that the newer C. I. O. unions cannot deliver their votes at the ballot box and that labor can safely be kicked around. What the worker does at the polling place this year will ultimately make itself felt in his pay envelope.

The next few days will decide the outcome of the election in this area. By the time this appears on the newsstands final registration figures should be available. They must run far above 1940 in the urban and industrial areas if Roosevelt and labor are to win. So far the P. A. C. seems to have done its best job on registration in Detroit, its poorest in Cleveland. The final registration total in Michigan's Wayne County (Detroit) in 1940 was 722,000. On October 5, with thirteen more days of registration, there were 700,000 voters registered and 53,000 soldier-ballot applications. These two figures overlap, since many soldiers who applied for ballots are already on the registry lists. The P. A. C. drive in Wayne County has been taking on momentum ever since the close of the automobile workers' violently factional convention. It looks as if final registration in the county would be high enough to give the Roosevelt forces a chance at victory on Election Day.

The registration figures do not look bad in Chicago. On October 3, with seven days to go, there were 1,807,252 registrations in Chicago as compared with a final registration of 1,918,103 in 1940. Cleveland has the widest margin to overcome. On October 4, 453,000 voters had registered, as compared with a final registration of 640,000, but there were five days of registration left. As of October 4 Dayton and Youngstown seem to have made a better showing than Cleveland. The registration in Youngstown was 81,000 as compared with 103,883 in 1940. Dayton promised a far heavier registration than four years ago. On October 4, 137,337 voters had already registered in Dayton, as compared with a final registration of 144,000 in 1940.

This much must be said for the P. A. C. in Ohio. Republican-controlled election boards are making registration as difficult as possible in that state. By comparison,

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the P. A. C.'s task is easiest in Chicago, where most of the municipal and county jobs that feed the Kelly machine are at stake in this election. For the first time since 1936 the Board of Election Commissioners in Cook County on October 10 will open every polling place in the county for registration instead of using fire stations. The difference is enormous, since there are only 157 fire stations but 3,804 polling places in Chicago and 221 in the rest of the county. In Detroit the city election commission is sending employees authorized to accept registrations to industrial plants when a minimum of 100 new enrolments is guaranteed. In addition, on October 16, 17, and 18, the last three days of registration, the commission's offices will be open till 8 p.m.—on other days they close at 4:45 p.m., too early for most workers —and there will be fifty auxiliary neighborhood registration stations open from noon to 8 p.m. A vigorous effort by the P. A. C. is all the more necessary because the anti-Roosevelt forces in many rural and suburban areas are also running "get out the vote" campaigns. In rich Evanston, Illinois, where the colored maids and one liberal capitalist and his family seem to supply the only Roosevelt votes, I saw a registration leaflet put out by the Evanston Republican Club headed, "Sidney Hillman and Earl Browder's Communists Are Registered. ARE YOU?"

I am inclined to think that the P. A. C. will do a pretty good job in the election in this area. It has branch organizations in every industrial county, and organizers in most of the precincts as well as the wards of Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland. In Michigan factional differences within the automobile workers' union seem to have had much less effect than was originally feared. In Cleveland, and in Ohio generally, the P. A. C. itself is subordinate to Labor's Joint Committee for Political Action, which represents not only the C. I. O. but the A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Ohio Federation of Telephone Workers, an independent union. The personal influence of Phil Hanna, secretary of the Ohio Federation of Labor, and of that grand old progressive, A. F. Whitney of the Trainmen, played their part in the achievement of this labor unity. The Ohio Federation of Labor indorsed Roosevelt, and the one sour labor note in the state comes from a source with past financial links to Bricker. The labor paper run by Breidenbach in Dayton has been attacking Sidney Hillman as "America's No. 1 disruptionist" in editorials widely reprinted by the anti-labor press of the Middle West. Bricker's campaign-expenditures report for 1940, when he ran for Governor, showed two payments to Breidenbach—$3,127.12 for salary and expenses, and $12,091.19 for "expenditures to other sources."

In Cleveland I found both the old-time progressives and the labor movement sour on Mayor Frank J. Lausche, the Democratic candidate for Governor. He is far superior to his rival, Mayor James G. Stewart of Cincinnati, but no prize progressive. Lausche fancies himself as a Slovene Lincoln, already has his eyes on the Presidency, and wears his hair rumpled à la Willkie—but the resemblance between the two men is tonsorial only. Louis "America-Will-Be-Starving-by-Next-Winter" Bromfield thinks him "the best thing that has happened to the Democratic Party in Ohio in twenty-five years," and Cleveland's unanimously anti-New Deal papers are passionate about him. I heard Lausche speak at the state convention of the Democratic Party in Columbus and can report that he said nothing which might alarm the Cleveland Trust Company. Except for a reference to "our Commander-in-Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt," Lausche eschewed all controversial topics. As Mayor, he has been eminently satisfactory to Cleveland's bankers, and should he win in 1944 he would be a good ace-in-the-hole in the Democratic Party for the moneyed interests. He looks like the Common People's Friend but is safely housebroken. One of his mentors is Paul Bellamy, editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. The *Plain Dealer* was for Newton D. Baker in 1932, supported Roosevelt "with some misgivings" (its own words) in 1936, swung to Willkie in 1940, and is now for Dewey on the ground that "the only possible outcome of his [Roosevelt's] policies . . . is state socialism, followed inevitably by some form of fascism." I add wrily that the editor responsible for this succinct echo of the Chicago *Tribune* is the son of the utopian Socialist Edward Bellamy, author of "Looking Backward."

The only Democratic candidate in either Ohio or Michigan waging a New Deal campaign is William G. Pickrel, who is really slugging away at Senator Taft. His chances are not too good, but it would be a blessing if he could send Taft back to the affluent corporate law practice and directorships of Taft, Stettinius, and Hollister. In Illinois Scott Lucas has a good chance of re-election against Richard J. Lyons, the Chicago *Tribune* candidate, whose acrid "nationalism" has led some ten downstate Republican papers to come out for Lucas. The attention of progressives will be focused in Illinois on the energetic fight Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas is making for Congressman-at-large against the unspeakable Stephen A. Day, George Sylvester Viereck's friend.

In both Ohio and Michigan Republican legislatures enacted a separate ballot law as a safeguard against another Roosevelt landslide. This may hurt the President in Ohio, where Lausche would have brought many normally anti-New Deal votes to the Democratic ticket, but it will help him in Michigan, where Governor Harry F. Kelly is expected to run far ahead of the rest of the Republican ticket. Many will vote for Kelly on the state ballot and Roosevelt on the federal. Another factor that may help Roosevelt in Michigan in a close election is the America First Party. G. L. K. Smith received 30,000

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votes as an independent candidate for the United States Senate in 1942 and will draw votes from Dewey rather than from Roosevelt. There is some fear in Michigan that the Michigan Commonwealth Federation may cost Roosevelt a few votes through spoiled ballots. It will have one Congressional candidate on the federal ballot, several on the state. I am told there were 18,000 spoiled ballots in the primary, or more than twice the number of votes by which Willkie carried Michigan in 1940. A few thousand spoiled ballots might make a crucial difference on November 7. I'm sorry I have no space left for the Congressional fights in this isolationist region, and want to close by pointing to two weak spots in the campaign to get out the Roosevelt vote. Working-class women are not registering and voting in anywhere near the proportions of women in the upper brackets, and many Negroes, all too fresh from the South, are reluctant to register and vote.

Britain's Tories Steal a March

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, October 4, by Cable

A GENERAL election in this country, Winston Churchill told Commons yesterday, is "not imminent but it's what you call impending." The widespread opinion is that it will follow almost immediately the end of the European war, and while more optimistic forecasts of that date have been revised lately, only the most pessimistic see Germany still fighting next summer. In any event there is a revival of political interest here, and cynics regard a number of recent government actions as designed to accumulate material for the election campaign. They point to an increase in service-pay proposals for demobilization and, above all, to the new social-security plan which has just appeared, nearly two years after Sir William Beveridge's famous report.

Next to Churchill's personality and record as a war leader, this scheme seems likely to be the mainstay of the Tory appeal to voters. It is one well calculated to put the opposition on the spot, since the labor movement hugged Beveridge so uncritically to its bosom. Now, to the Tory claim that the new plan is "better than Beveridge's," Labor orators can only retort that it isn't quite so good. They are not in a strong position to attack, for instance, its contributory scheme, which will bear hard on those with the lowest incomes—a feature which it shares with the Beveridge plan.

In at least one respect the government's White Paper improves on Beveridge, who suggested old-age pensions of fourteen shillings for a single person and twenty-five shillings for married persons, rising over a twenty-year transitional period to twenty-four and forty shillings. The government's proposals are for standard rates of twenty and forty shillings at the outset—a bird-in-hand which will appeal to the present generation of pensioners, who are incidentally the ones whose votes count now. Unkind people are hinting that this is the reason why they are treated better than voteless children. The government's family-allowance plan provides five shillings per child except for the first, whereas Beveridge suggested eight. It is claimed that the difference will be more than wiped out by benefits in kind, notably free milk and free meals for all public-school children. The White Paper estimates that £60,000,000 annually will eventually be spent on this part of the program, but it will be a long time before it can be put into full operation owing to the present lack of facilities.

Meanwhile critics declare that the proposed cash allowance is inadequate both from the point of view of relieving poverty and from that of stimulating an increase in the birth rate—a consideration which is thought to have weighed powerfully in converting Tories to the principle of family endowment. In a statement specially prepared for *The Nation* Miss Eleanor Rathbone, an independent progressive Member of Parliament who has devoted years to pioneering for children's allowances, declares that "the position is really alarming. We have already 2,000,000 fewer children under fourteen than in 1914, but 2,500,000 more people over sixty. Unless there is a speedy rise in the average size of families we shall soon begin to lose about a quarter of our population every twenty-eight years or so. The security and prosperity of our nation will be endangered. Beveridge prophesies that by 1960 we shall be in a panic about our population. But panics are of no use. At a crisis the supply of munitions can be accelerated, but it takes at least nineteen years to produce an adult citizen. A plain promise of an extra five shillings will induce parents, especially the more thoughtful and ambitious, to have more children."

Here, then, is one point on which Labor critics are likely to fasten, probably with the support of the more progressive and imaginative Tories. Another weak spot in the government's scheme is the limitation of unemployment benefits to thirty weeks, after which the unemployed man goes on public assistance and the hated means test is applied. Thus the great plan to abolish

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poverty retains a lingering flavor of the old Poor Law. An even more vulnerable feature of the proposals is the rejection of any attempt to link rates of benefit to the cost of living. In view of the potential inflationary situation in this country, this might mean that after war-time controls have been relaxed, the proposed increases in benefits would be swallowed up by a rise in prices. Thus, as the *Tribune* insists, the government must guarantee the purchasing power of benefits by maintaining whatever controls are necessary for stabilizing living costs.

Points such as these can be effectively debated in Parliament, but on the hustings details don't count very much, and the important fact will be the acceptance by the Tories of the principle of security from the cradle to the grave. Of course since Labor is in the National Government it can claim equal credit for the plan. Indeed, Labor members of the Cabinet may assert with justice that but for the fight which they put up from the inside, the plan would be much weaker. But again this is a difficult line to reconcile with attacks on the scheme as thoroughly inadequate. That is one reason why a good many Laborites, especially those holding government positions, privately are doubtful of the wisdom of fighting the election at all, believing that it would be wiser to continue the coalition through the early years of peace. However, the party executive will advise the conference to be held in December to make a bid for independent power at the next general election, and undoubtedly the rank-and-file sentiment strongly favors this course. In fact, it is questionable whether the party could survive a prolongation of the coalition government in which it is a junior partner. The fate of the Liberals after they agreed to maintain a war-time alliance with the Tories in 1918 has not been forgotten. And quite aside from partisan sentiment, the prospect of the continuation of one-party government without an effective opposition is not alluring to those who are concerned with the vitality of British democracy.

Well-informed party members to whom I have talked during the past few days, while favoring an independent policy, are frankly gloomy about the outcome. They believe the trend of opinion in this country is markedly to the left, but they see little hope of capitalizing on this trend without a much bolder program than the present leadership seems willing to provide. It is no longer possible to compete with the Tories on social reform. That battle has been won by and large; only mopping up remains. Now is the time, according to this school of thought, to refurbish the weapons in Labor's neglected Socialist arsenal; to take the line that social security, full employment, and other post-war hopes will prove Dead Sea fruit as long as the profit system retains its priorities. One famous Socialist writer to whom I spoke suggested that an effective campaign could be built around the single dramatic issue of nationalization of the land. The desperate need of housing in this bomb-torn country makes this a matter of real urgency, and the government's halfway measure for securing access to the land required, now being debated in Parliament, seems likely to produce more lawsuits than homes. But this subject must be reserved for separate treatment.

[*This is the first of the articles which Mr. Hutchison will cable from England during the coming weeks.*]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SOVIET-FORM OF GOVERNMENT is firmly established. Perhaps the most striking fact in Russia today is the general support which is given the government by the people in spite of their starvation.—WILLIAM C. BULLITT. Certainly, the destructive phase of the revolution in Russia is over. Constructive work has begun. We saw this everywhere. And we saw order, and though we inquired for them, we saw no disorders.—LINCOLN STEFFENS, *October 4, 1919.*

THE PRESIDENT'S BREAKDOWN, with the consequent collapse of his trip on behalf of the treaty, will call forth regret everywhere—even, we believe, among those whom he has been denouncing as cowards and pro-Germans. No one in American history has had heavier burdens, or lived under a more terrible strain. . . . We hope for him a speedy recovery so that he may continue to present his side of the case in the best possible light.—*October 4, 1919.*

THE PAST WEEK HAS SEEN the defeat of the Shantung amendments to the peace treaty and of the Fall amendments as well. . . . There is still one more amendment to be voted on—the Johnson amendment relating to the British votes in the League of Nations. After that is out of the way . . . the struggle will come over the reservations. There is a growing determination on the part of Republicans to stiffen these reservations and even to increase their number. Meanwhile, time is passing, and time fights on the side of the "irreconcilables" who desire the complete defeat of the treaty.—*October 25, 1919.*

WHATEVER ELSE THE WAR DID, it certainly accelerated the breakdown of the industrial order out of which it sprang. The economic imperialists who made it perhaps counted the outcome a victory if they lived in London or Paris or New York, a defeat if in Berlin or Vienna, a disaster if in Petrograd—but the more discerning even among them already perceive that the struggle sapped the foundations of industrial autocracy in victorious and vanquished states alike. . . . The task of the future is to make industrial self-government efficient.—*October 25, 1919.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Léon Barthou, "Le Traité de Paix"; James Branch Cabell, "Jurgen"; Calvin Coolidge, "Have Faith in Massachusetts"; O. Henry, "Waifs and Strays"; Sinclair Lewis, "Free Air"; H. L. Mencken, "Prejudices: First Series"; William Dudley Pelley, "The Greater Glory"; Bernard Shaw, "Heartbreak House, Great Catharine, and Playlets of the War."—*October 25, 1919.*

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The Pope and the Peace

BY G. A. BORGESE

TWO parallel peace plans were proposed early in the war, one by the Western democracies, the other by the Roman church. The basic tenets of the first were listed in the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter and in Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, those of the second in the Papal proclamation of the Five Points.

Both plans were sketchy, and noncommittal on specific problems. Both stressed, however, a set of general principles, not novel by any means, to which the civilized mind was invited to give once more the general assent it had given them long since. The main concordance between the two programs lay in the pledge that after the war all nations should be restored to safety and sovereignty "within their own boundaries" (Atlantic Charter, point 6; Papal point 1) and that economic opportunity should be equally available to "great or small, victor or vanquished" (Charter, point 4; Papal points 2 and 3). There was also agreement, although not embodied in definite proposals, that there should be some kind of universal law—the "permanent system" of the Atlantic Charter, point 8—designed to avert the calamity of a third world war (Papal point 4).

But the discrepancy, although manifest in omissions rather than admissions, was no less deep than the agreement was broad. It was twofold, too. In what concerns the shape of things to come, the Atlantic Charter and, much more emphatically, Roosevelt's third inaugural insisted on a universal age of rational emancipation, with the four freedoms valid "everywhere." No concept of this kind was apparent in the Papal thought. A reference to one of the four freedoms, that of "worship," can be read into the fifth Papal point ("there can be no place for the persecution of religion and the church"), but it is no grammatical quibble to point out that the two nouns, religion and church, were in the singular. Thus from the beginning a regrettable misunderstanding existed between the West and the Vatican. Even at this moment the bewilderment of such representative democrats as cartoonist Low, dramatizing his bitterness over the ingratitude of the Vatican toward the democracies that fight for the freedom of worship, is bewildering to anyone who recalls that the freedom of faiths in the equality of democracy is one thing, and the freedom of the one true faith according to the official doctrine of the Roman church quite another.

The second aspect of the contrast was more striking since it affected present and urgent events rather than a fluid future. The main present event was war. Its military outcome was highly relevant to the democracies; hence their pledge to struggle until "final destruction of the Nazi tyranny" (Charter, point 6), together with some indication, albeit less crystalline, of their intentions (point 8) during the transition period between victory and a stable world order. In the eyes of the Roman Curia, on the contrary, a clear-cut military decision was neither relevant nor desirable. The wish and prayer underlying its five points, as well as, inferentially or frankly, every other Papal statement, were for an immediate negotiated peace among all powers, fascist and anti-fascist alike. Had the prayer been granted, its fulfilment would have been a gigantic Munich with a respite to Nazism invigorating enough to defeat the Pope's very purpose of sparing mankind a third convulsion.

It was imperative, therefore, to expose the slant—authoritarian and pro-fascist—of the "neutrality" of the Vatican, and while criticizing the evasions and pitfalls of the Roosevelt documents, to stand by the peace plan of the democracies as long as such a plan was extant. But its days were numbered. It fell, an early casualty, in the first spell of military success. The White House abdicated at Casablanca; Tory imperialism, seeking perpetuity in a Carthaginian peace, rose to uncompromising candor; unconditional surrender was substituted for the lengthy decalogues that had been recited in the seasons of dubious fortune. One result was that the Papal program emerged gradually as the sole landmark standing in the ideological and ethical desert of the last two years. Hence the political prestige wielded today by the Roman Curia, unequaled perhaps since its medieval culmination, with the paradox of the Lilliputian and thoroughly unmechanized Vatican State growing to be the one great power with which the victors may have to come to terms.

The paradox ceases to be a miracle as soon as we turn to the facts and figures of geo-religion, a chapter of geopolitics. Something less than one-tenth of the Catholic population of the world is housed in the victor countries, with areas of special density in the well-organized Catholic sixth of the United States and in the un-British, if not outright anti-British, Canadian province of Quebec. Some contend that France is a great victorious power of Catholic persuasion. Others submit that France is neither a great victorious power, except by unilateral investiture by the Big Three, nor a Catholic country—unless four years of Pétain have succeeded in eradicating

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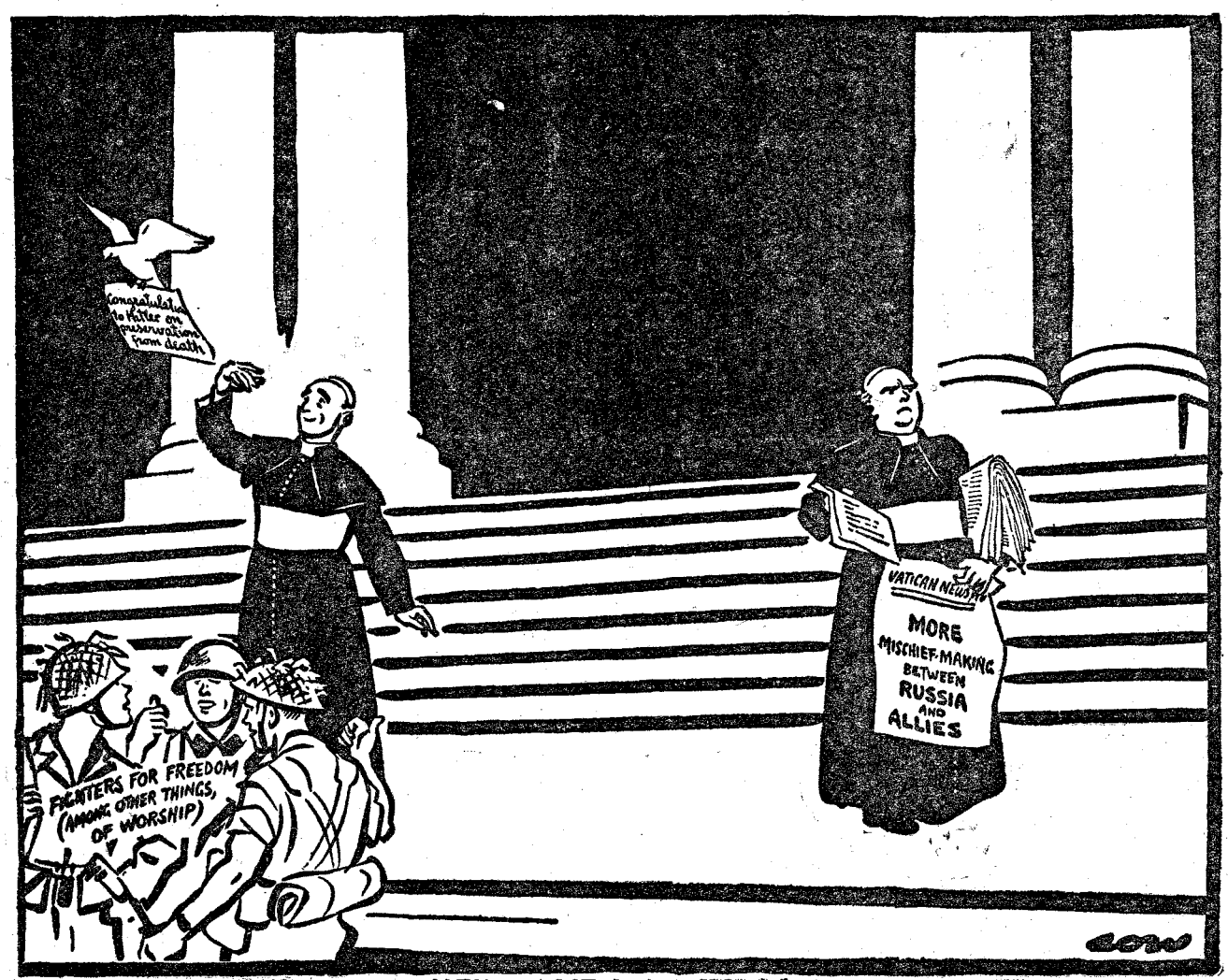
its 150-year-old radical self. Be that as it may, not even a solid France of forty million people counted among the victors would alter decisively the proportions of the alignment.

The overwhelming majority of the Catholic population is distributed between the defeated and the neutrals. The peace plan of unconditional surrender to be followed by an indefinite period of armistice and occupation does not make sense to the defeated—or makes too much sense. It does not make sense to the neutrals, or, for that matter, to belligerents of the Brazilian type. They unanimously see in the absolute rule of the Big Three the end of whatever freedom of initiative and actual sovereignty they enjoyed in a balanced or a competitive world. Consider from this angle the whole range of Atlantic clerico-neutralism, from Dublin to Buenos Aires.

Or consider, from another angle, the case of Poland. A five-year world war was unleashed with the primary purpose of protecting Poland's independence from German conquest. That Roosevelt did not add to his four freedoms the fifth—which is the freedom "of assembly," whose counterpart in international law is national self-determination, and without which all other freedoms are void—may well be explained as mere forgetfulness, a casual gap. The omission, however, was ominous. It waived in advance all ideological objections to the future neo-imperialism that would silently scrap the Atlantic Charter and proclaim loudly the right of the victors to vivisect the vanquished. As a by-product of this development, Poland, nominally one of the victor nations, at the close of a five-year war of liberation finds itself requested to move from the German frying-pan into the Russian fire, with its Western patrons unable to oppose the request either by force of arms or on the authority of principles.

It is quite possible that in the long run the Russian plan will prove to be the best for the Polish people; but what is important, and flagrant, at this moment is that the Russian plan is to be enforced on the ground of sheer military might without any serious reference to a free national choice. Those Poles, therefore, who still insist on a Polish household free of German and Russian overlordship alike, must look to the Vatican, even if they are not regular churchgoers, as the only sanctuary left for the quondam sixth point of the Atlantic Charter, which still ranks first among the five Papal points.


Congratulations to Hitler on preservation from death
VATICAN NEWS
MORE MISCHIEF-MAKING BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ALLIES
FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM (AMONG OTHER THINGS, OF WORSHIP)

NEUTRALITY AT ROME

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Or take Italy. Defeat and ruin served well the Fascist craving, criminal and stupid fifty-fifty, for primacy and world empire. There is, none the less, cruel and unusual punishment in the degradation of the whole Italian nation, for this day and an unrevealed number of days to come, to the status of a British crown colony, with less home rule than India and less dignified rajahs in the House of Savoy, besides the aggravating circumstance that the Tory empire, careful not to admit officially the colonial status of the new holding, can contemplate cashing the profits without footing the bills. It so happens, however, that Italy, while thoroughly subjugated to a foreign power, still acts vicariously as a world power through the Italian majority in the Sacred College and the Italian occupancy of Peter's chair. Whether they go to church or not, the Italian people will make as much as they can of this odd opportunity as long as this round of the game lasts.

And take, finally, Germany. Realists of the Sumner Welles school have been anticipating that the German Catholics would hail a German dismemberment along confessional lines. The Catholics shake better-equipped heads. They know that the German Catholics will not burden themselves with national high treason while forfeiting at the same time their living space in the wholeness of Germany and retiring to quaint parochialism along Rhine and Isar. The Germans, therefore, Catholic and Protestant alike, as long as this round of the game lasts, must look to the Vatican as the most articulate and least censorable advocate of their national survival.

All this makes up a stupendous conjuncture for the Papal policy, as "sudden the worst turns the best to the brave." The un-Christian aid and comfort that policy gave to the aggressor nations—in Ethiopia, in Spain, in Czechoslovakia, everywhere—is whitewashed by the Christian assistance it proffers today to the humbled and injured (the vanquished) and to the weak (the neutrals). Moreover, the Roman hierarchy, while lending a strong and decisive hand to the rise of Upper Fascism (Italian), could not help chiding it off and on, paternally, for its amateurish paganism; while countenancing and supporting also the rise of Middle Fascism (Nazism), the hierarchy had to scold it more severely for its less amateurish paganism and racialism. But the third phase of the phenomenon, Lower Fascism (Spain, Portugal, and Hispanidad in Latin America), has nothing in it to perturb the Curia. It is Catholic through and through. It provides a firm terrain for a compact system around which many outlying interests are expected to rotate. Unexpectedly, at least for those who used to scoff at any interpretation of history not rigorously economic, our lay civilization appears cut in three along well-known theological grooves, with "godless" Russia gearing to universal empire the psychological setup of the Eastern church, and Axis Europe plus its natural satellites pooling fears and hopes under Roman sponsorship, while the active presence of Roman Catholic forces in the English-speaking field, only half-heartedly Protestant, is too substantial to be called an infiltration. Those forces are being visibly marshaled toward a just (or soft) peace. The arrow of their will points, beyond the foregone conclusion of the military fight in the Old World, to the fifteen-century-old feud between Romanism and Eastern schism.

Reluctantly but irrevocably the realists that rule the West are rubbing their eyes. Somehow, it was a better time when the city of Rome was Nazi-held and the rulers of the West could slumber on the conviction that the Vatican was inherently a democratic ally, whose more or less pro-Axis neutrality was but a coded message from its gagged captivity. When the Nazi curtain fell they had to awaken to the facts. There could be no fumbling any longer with the Papal declarations stating neatly that the Vatican is nobody's satellite. It is a power on its own —whose weight, made up largely of imponderables, flouts all military pressure.

Hitler vacated Rome early in June. A few weeks later Churchill in person undertook an epoch-making pilgrimage to the holy place. Visibly, the task ahead had grown too big for statesmen of Mr. Myron Taylor's class.

On what lines the bargain should be clinched is self-evident. Consult, for analogies in the past, Elizabeth Barrett's "Curse" on British policy:

> Because ye have broken your own chain
> With the strain
> Of brave men climbing a Nation's height,
> Yet thence bear down with brand and thong
> On souls of others—for this wrong
> This is the curse . . .

Churchill is passionately interested in the liberties and security of his nation and caste. But—or, he may think, therefore—he has no objection to crystallizing all Europe in a clerico-feudal, demo-fascist order, without Prussian teeth in it and with bourbons of all description planted everywhere from Madrid to Vienna and as far east as Russia may think fit. Such a structure, allegedly of steel and concrete, would be likely to absorb and contain the westward push of the "Communist" tide. A proposition of this kind is anything but empty talk for Vatican ears. As for Churchill himself, avowedly and representatively a free thinker, "an empire is worth a mass"; and as Wallaces can be shelved, so can Canterburys be muffled.

There are obstacles, however. One is that much of the Papal prestige has been built on the consistency, heightened by the withering away of the Atlantic Charter, with which the Vatican has upheld, straight through from the Christmas speech of 1939 to the broadcast of

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September 1, 1944, the national rights of victors, neutrals, and vanquished alike. The inference is that much of that prestige would cave in if the Vatican were to be utterly unable to deliver the goods. The problem of the neutrals is not forbidding, there being no compelling reason why the democratic blessing bestowed on General Franco should not be extended to South American colonels or why the official policy of Britain should be adamant in exacting from Argentina and its friends a strictly United States interpretation of hemispheric solidarity. But the problem of the vanquished, especially Germany, is thornier. It is not quite clear to what lengths the victors would go in meeting the Papal demand of Italian rebirth and German survival; in other terms, how much negotiated peace they are willing to accept under the flag of unconditional surrender.

The other obstacle is of a social nature. The quid pro quo that the Vatican can offer is support of the cartel-bourbon order that British toryism and some sections of American economic royalism intend to fasten on Europe. Such a proposal runs along the traditional lines of the political church, whose commitments in favor of vested interests and the privileged classes have stood changeless for centuries and now appear more advisable than ever in the present plight of the Papal finances after the downfall of the Fascist lira. Such commitments, however, must be qualified with increasing wariness in the impending world weather. The appeals to Christian charity and alms-giving that mitigated the leisure-class economics of the Papacy in past ages will not do; neither is the honey-and-water *Ersatz* socialism of *Rerum Novarum* likely to prove enough of a medicament for the wounds of Europe. A tentative demarcation line at which the cooperation between clericalism and monopolism should stop has been drawn, with timorous hand, on many occasions, the latest of them being the September broadcast. Should that line be trespassed upon and should meanwhile a native European revolution of the demo-socialist type miscarry under the AMG and the bourbons, the immediate repercussion might be the one the church dreads most—a quick polarization of the European masses toward Russia. Stalin himself might be unable to swerve it.

There are perils also inside the church. One need not be a Communist to take exception to the recent Papal condemnation of Catholic communism—a telltale usurpation of infallibility beyond the pales of faith and morals. Left-wing Catholics, restless in private, have been long-enduring in public for decades on end, contenting themselves with moderate and repetitious trots within a high-fenced *manège* of conformism. This, however, is an age of surprises. A Savonarola, a Wycliffe might cut loose from the bland cavalcade—and jump the fence. The Vatican cannot afford to ignore such risks.

As a conclusion it seems reasonable to surmise that the partnership of Tory democracy and Romanism is a weave of wishes, half pious, half impious, threadbare altogether. Churchill's farewell allocution to Italy at the close of his Roman pilgrimage—a document of notably un-Churchillian perplexity and awkwardness—was a straw in the wind. This does not mean that the affair between *Realpolitik* and political Christianity is bound to be barren. It may bring forth, in muddled seasons ahead, an additional offspring of confusion and corruption.

We know full well, of course, how much of the blame for the whole confusion and corruption lies in the default—ideological, ethical, intellectual—of the victor democracies. But we ought to know no less precisely that our own default, the political helplessness of the intelligentsia, has been part and parcel of the process. Whatever its competence in identifying and castigating the errors and follies of the ruling groups, the democratic intelligentsia has been gravely remiss in arraying collectively its forces, in claiming its share of authority and power, in pointing constructively to the right road and walking responsibly on it.

In the Wind

DR. RALPH COOPER HUTCHISON, president of Washington and Jefferson College, addressed a recent meeting of the Washington Council of Republican Women in these words: "The principle which says you have too many pigs and must kill them, whether you want to or not, is the same principle which says that a nation has too many Jews and kills them for the good of society. The subordination of the individual to the state is applied here, only in a lesser degree. Are we to defeat Hitler only to be subjugated to the same principles?"

IT IS THE OFFICIAL POSITION of the British Colonial Office and the Palestine government that there is no room in Palestine for further Jewish immigration. But the *Journal d'Egypte* reports that the Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs is considering a request by the Palestine government for 15,000 Egyptian laborers to be used on civilian public works.

THE NEWS IS BETTER from South Africa. A number of typists employed in the government pension office at Pretoria protested against a rule requiring them to address correspondence to Negro pensioners in the same manner as to white ones, using "Dear Sir" or "Dear Madam" and ending "Yours Faithfully." The protesting typists were told that their services were no longer required.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Argentine envoy to Denmark has moved to Sweden, with part of his staff. The Argentine consul in Copenhagen has also gone to Sweden.

[The prize for the best item received during September goes to Richard Kelly of New York, for the story of how the press handled Norman Thomas's letter attacking the Union for Democratic Action. It appeared September 2.]

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The German Soldier

BY LEWIS S. GANNETT

London, October 1

I WENT out to Brittany last month to see Brest fall. It was expected to fall in three days, and the Germans hung on for three weeks. I had plenty of time, and I used many hours of it talking with German prisoners.

I tried to draw them out, to discover what made them act as they do act. I had some difficulty in recognizing in the cowed Germans in the prisoners' pens the proud Teutons I'd read about, the tough Germans whose effect I saw in and about Brest. I even left a sort of standing order for a so-called "typical Nazi," and I talked to the toughest Germans their guardians could produce, but they did not seem to match the type. Later, when Brest fell, I saw some who looked it, but I couldn't be sure about them. For the officers who had their boots polished and their medals burnished for a formal mass surrender were in a herd; I did not have a chance to chat with them one by one, as I had done with those who gave themselves up earlier. Perhaps that is part of the answer: perhaps the Germans as a herd are one thing and as individuals another.

I talk German badly, but I talk it; I studied in Germany in 1913-14, and saw something of Germany again in 1919, 1921, 1926, and 1935. In September, 1944, I talked at greater or less length with a couple of hundred Germans, most of whom were tired, beaten, disconsolate, prematurely old men in their thirties and forties. I cabled a piece about them, saying that they had convinced me the war would end by Christmas. Then I went back to the front and, in so far as one can watch a war, watched other Germans, presumably just like them, fighting on. You don't see the enemy much in this war, but you hear his bullets and his shells, and now and then you see one of your own men stumble and fall. The Germans at Brest fought long and well.

The Germans were not misinformed about the progress of the war. They all knew that the Russians had reached Warsaw. All except a few who had been isolated in a detached coastal battery knew that the Americans were in Paris. They knew, accurately, what parts of what German cities had been bombed. If I asked a prisoner from Hamburg about the bombings in Berlin, he would refer me to a Berlin man, and the Berlin man would tell what buildings had been hit and what quarters. A man from Leipzig said he had not been home since Leipzig had its worst bombings, but his wife had told him about them. They all knew about Kiel and Cologne. They discriminated. When I mentioned Hanover, they said it had not been bombed. A man from Cassel said his city had been wiped out in seventy-seven minutes, from the air; he had lost his home, his wife, and his children.

They knew the war was lost for them. Only when I talked to officers in a group did I find any who pretended that Germany might yet win. Even they admitted that they could not quite work it out by logic and arithmatic; they said they had "faith."

Why, I asked, did they fight on? Many privates said they had no choice; their officers would have shot them had they surrendered. But more of them talked about German "honor."

I remember the oath every German swears. It was a preface to the Catholic and Lutheran army songbooks I had picked up in captured German forts: "I swear by God this holy oath, that I will give unconditional obedience to the Leader of the German Reich and people, Adolf Hitler, Supreme Commander of the army, and that as a brave soldier I will be prepared at all times to pledge my life for this oath."

Did they not love Germany? I asked. Did they want to see every city destroyed as Cassel and Kiel had been? What good did it do Germany to fight a hopeless war, sacrificing its cities and its soldiers?

They shrugged their shoulders and said that a soldier must obey. Did not all soldiers obey? I doubt that it would have occurred to a G.I. or a Tommy to excuse himself by such a plea.

They had no sense of guilt, and no indignation. They hadn't the remotest notion of national sin. They knew that Germany had been beaten; only in that sense did they feel that Germany had done wrong. Many of them prattled a bit about "the menace of Bolshevism." If I asked who began the war, some would reply that the war was "forced" on Germany. If I persisted, asking who invaded whom, they would shrug their shoulders and say they did not understand the larger questions of history. They had no sense of individual civic responsibility. A quite intelligent Heidelberg medical student calmly dismissed all questions of Nazism and world politics as "beyond his horizon." All that, these German soldiers expected to leave to others. They were sheep. They followed.

A few belonged to a special type: they were Dead End kids, young gangsters, in the army for adventure. I remember particularly one paratrooper from Hamburg. He had volunteered for that risky service at sixteen because he *"wollte 'was erleben."* He wanted adventure, and I

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imagined him capable of any crime, as adventure. He said he was not a Nazi Party member and rather sheepishly avowed that he had never read "Mein Kampf." I doubt whether he had ever really read anything, and it is probably too late to educate him. He belongs to a lost German generation which will never belong in any sane world and will constitute a perennial problem.

I met precisely two Germans who expressed bitterness against their government. One was on oldish officer who blamed Hitler and said he had blamed Hitler from the start. But when I took out a notebook and asked his name he went white. *"Um Gottes Willen,"* he said, "don't print that! I have a family in Germany; you will kill them! Look," he added, pulling a picture of two blond children from his pocket, "you will murder those children if you print my name and what I said."

Of the other bitter man's sincerity I am less sure. He came from near Stuttgart. He said he had been made sick at his stomach by what he had seen in the village of Gouesnou. There the Germans, in reprisal for "terrorist" (F. F. I.) activities, had seized a group of hostages, variously reported at from thirty to two hundred, and shot them, then sprinkled their bodies with gasoline and burned them. After that, he said, he had seen a German paratrooper trying to rape a French girl, and had protested. The paratrooper drew his pistol; he kicked him in a manner to incapacitate him for rape.

He was arrested, he said, court-martialed, stripped of his sergeant's stripes, and sent to the front line. There he deserted, finding refuge with an Alsatian who put him in touch with the F. F. I. In civilian clothes he joined the Resistance and fought in its ranks for three days before a suspicious Frenchman turned him over to the Americans, who treated him as a prisoner of war. The F. F. I., not usually gullible about Germans, gave him a clean bill of health, and he volunteered to make a broadcast, appealing to his fellow-countrymen to stop fighting. He was the only German prisoner I met who even professed a sense of sin about Germany's misdeeds. The attitude was so unusual it seemed suspicious.

I met no German who said he knew anything of an underground movement in Germany.

Among the captured prisoners were some who had been more or less prisoners in the German army. There were Russians who said, through Poles who interpreted for them, that they had been forced to don German uniforms to avoid starvation in German prison camps, and a few young Russians who had been conscripted on reaching the age of eighteen behind the German lines. There were young Yugoslavs, also conscripts, who spoke German and seemed politically unconscious. The young Poles knew they were Poles and openly jeered at the Germans, even when surrounded by them. I met no avowed Czechs, but several who identified themselves as "Sudetens."

It was in September that I talked with these Germans. Men whose business it has been to question prisoners told me the Germans had been cockier in Normandy, before the great Russian advance and the American break-through. What effect the battles in Holland may have on German psychology is another question.

These talks left me feeling that I understood the German state of mind better, and the German problem less. I see no neat solution for it. All proposed solutions have their dangers. I hope that we may have sense enough not to expect too much of any peace formula we set down on paper. Peace is a process, not a formula.

Immediately, I have no doubt that the overwhelming demonstration of German defeat is essential. I have seen St. Lo and Brest; the Germans will be impressed by similar ruins on their own soil—not merely air-bombed but shell-pitted. They need the evidence of defeat inside their frontiers, the sight of a victorious army marching in the streets of Berlin.

But in the long run the only possibility of "converting" or "reeducating" Germany toward our conception of a peaceful, evolving, democratic world lies in continuing demonstration that ours is a decenter civilization. Some of the proposals for handling the Germans do not work in that direction. And the spectacle of a cold, inhuman, silent army of haters would hardly help.

American soldiers have recently been ordered not to fraternize with Germans in Germany. The order smacks subtly of Hitler's own racial laws against association with people of another "race," the Jews. But there is no force on earth which can stop an American G. I.—or, I imagine, a British Tommy—from playing with the kids he sees on the streets, regardless of their nationality, and the G. I. just naturally smiles at girls, whether mademoiselles, señoritas, colleens, lassies, or fräuleins. His friendliness is a force of nature, like the tides and the sunshine, and second only to his bump of curiosity. He may not call it "fraternizing," but he will find a way to communicate with the human animals about him, wherever he is, even in Germany.

And why not? Who is advising General Eisenhower not to trust the men of the Allied armies? And why? The friendly G. I. is the best propagandist America ever had or can have.

Beyond that I don't know. A little quick punishment of war criminals may help, the quicker the better. Bernard Shaw's dictum about children, "Never strike a child except in anger," may apply to nations, too; there is wisdom behind it. Long, legalistic trials of thousands of "war criminals" will only muddy our own minds, and an honest lynching, like that in Italy, may be a decenter human spectacle than lynching under the forms of law.

The process of reeducating Germany is colossal and baffling. We want, as I see it, to instil into the German something of the G. I.'s skeptical attitude toward pro-

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hibitions and dicta from on high—which is a bit difficult under military rule. We want the Germans to become the kind of human beings German Americans have become in our own friendly Middle West. The more I saw of German prisoners the harder that seemed to me, and the more I listen to the rancorous emotional roar of professional German-haters at home the more I fear.

The G. I.'s are curiously encouraging. They fight hard and fraternize brilliantly. They don't subscribe to any racial or national theories, Jew-baiting or Hun-hating. They do what they have to do at the moment, and treat individuals as individuals. They may be politically insulated, a bit lawless, and monstrously homesick, but they are the most heart-warming human specimens ever let loose to startle, puzzle, and possibly convert Allied and enemy countries.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Campaign Facts and Controversies

THE value of empirical research is that discussions which would otherwise go on endlessly can be settled by pointing to actual data. This week our column is devoted to presenting some pertinent examples.

1. *Polish Americans and Catholics.* In the New York *Times* of September 28 Arthur Krock had this to say about the "so-called Polish vote": "This vote is supposed to be inclined to Mr. Dewey, who has seemed at times to be openly angling for it, because the President is considered too pliant to the post-war territorial ambitions of Marshal Stalin." In our own column of September 16 we gave evidence that, at least in the New York metropolitan area, 88 per cent of the Polish Americans who have chosen their candidates plan to vote Democratic. It is most unlikely that the situation in other cities is sufficiently different to reduce this figure by 40 per cent, the amount necessary to make the Polish American vote "inclined to Mr. Dewey."

Mr. Krock said also: "Voters in areas largely populated by Catholic families have been reported to headquarters as cool to Mr. Roosevelt, because of his Soviet policies and for other reasons." Special tabulations made by this column during the 1940 campaign showed that on comparable socio-economic levels Catholic groups report a much heavier Democratic vote than Protestant. No complete tabulation is available for this election. But a special poll was recently taken of 3,000 women in northern urban centers, where most Catholics live. Of 1,216 Protestant women, 54 per cent of those who have made up their minds plan to vote for Dewey, 46 per cent for Roosevelt. But among 990 Catholic women, only 21 per cent plan to vote for Dewey and 79 per cent for Roosevelt. This holds for all income groups. Dewey will get the votes of 78 per cent of the upper third of Protestant women, only 34 per cent of the upper third of Catholic women. Roosevelt will get 62 per cent of the lower two-thirds of Protestant women, 84 per cent of the lower two-thirds of Catholic women. As it is known from other studies that husbands and wives vote the same way in the great majority of cases, there seems to be no justification for saying that Catholic families are "cool to Mr. Roosevelt."

2. *Press Politics in News and Editorials.* The newspaper trade paper *Editor and Publisher* took mild exception to our column of September 23 on Front-Page Bias in Newspapers. Further evidence on the point may therefore be useful. This column compared for one week the Drew Pearson column as it appeared in the pro-Administration Newark *Star-Ledger* with the column as it appeared in the anti-Administration New York *Daily Mirror*. There was hardly a day on which the *Mirror's* editors did not cut out sections unfavorable to Dewey, sections which the *Ledger* ran.

Another interesting observation is that identical Gallup polls are sometimes so headlined as to stress expectations favorable to the particular newspaper's candidate. One instance of this is the treatment given a column sent out by the Gallup Poll under the title "Roosevelt Leads in 28 States with 286 Electoral Votes and Dewey in 20 States with 245." The anti-Administration Wisconsin *State Journal* headlined it "Dewey Holds FDR to 20 Vote Lead," but the pro-Administration Atlanta *Constitution* ran substantially the original Gallup head.

In general, our data show that newspapers on both sides arrange the front page and handle feature columns in accordance with the policy of the editor and publisher. The importance of this fact is demonstrated by newly available information about the way the press is lining up in the election: two independent surveys (*Editor and Publisher* and Press Research, Inc.) give Dewey the support of about three-fifths of the press, Roosevelt of one-fifth, with one-fifth neutral or undecided as of August.

3. *The Band-Wagon Theory.* A subject brought up by George Gallup in his release of August 19 is of general interest. This is the, as he believes, false band-wagon theory, which he defines as, "A dominant factor in the way people vote is a desire to be on the winning side." If this theory were true, he declares, "the number of people who plan to vote for Mr. Roosevelt should be just about the same as those who think he will be the winner." To refute this, he cites poll statistics showing that 71 per cent of the people think Roosevelt will be reelected but that not nearly so many expect to vote for him.

We believe that a more realistic definition of the band-wagon factor is to say that *some* people are guided by their expectations of who will win the election. That this is undoubtedly the case has been shown in a study of the 1940 election. People who had not yet decided how to vote were asked whom they expected to win. When the same people were interviewed again some time later, it was found that their final voting decision was very clearly in agreement with their previous view as to the probable winner. As a matter of fact, some of the respondents didn't hesitate to say explicitly that they wanted to be on the winning side. (Detailed evidence will be given in a forthcoming publication of the American Council on Public Affairs, "Votes in the Making.")

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How to Deal with Japan

BY PACIFICUS

FOR the first time there is now a real possibility that the policy of the Allies toward an occupied Japan will help produce a democratic nation capable of solving its economic problems without recourse to aggressive economic imperialism. Discussion of this policy centers in Washington. The United States, which will have been primarily responsible for the defeat of Japan, has been assigned primary responsibility for fixing the terms of the peace by both China and Russia. American troops will form the largest contingent in the occupying force, and the Allied control commission, which, as in Germany, will exercise supreme legislative, judicial, and executive authority, will be headed by an American.

Until recently it looked as if the policies executed by this control commission would produce little better results than the Treaty of Versailles did in Germany. According to plans tentatively agreed upon at Cairo and later, Japan is to be demilitarized, stripped of its colonies, and occupied. The occupation is to continue beyond the enforcement of the armistice or surrender terms. On the subject of the Emperor, the State Department has taken a position midway between the British, who are supporting retention of the Throne as a "stabilizing" factor, and the Chinese, who in a number of semi-official publications have demanded the abolition of the Japanese monarchy. The State Department proposes that the Emperor be kept in guarded seclusion and utilized by the occupation authorities as a rubber stamp. The plans partially recognize that the cult of the Emperor is a factor in Japanese jingoism and call for the shutting down of state Shinto shrines like Yasukuni and Hachiman, which are closely associated with the development of militant chauvinism, but it is argued that if the Emperor is to be deposed, it must be done by the Japanese people themselves, not from without.

The crucial question in judging these policies is of course: what sort of Japan are they calculated to produce? State Department officials say they are trying to facilitate the birth of a liberal Japan capable of living peacefully with its neighbors and assuming international obligations. This may well be the theoretical objective, but if the department carries out its policies without check the *actual* result will be a Japan dominated by its giant monopolies—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, and the two or three others collectively referred to as the *Zaibatsu* ("moneyed group" or "plutocracy").

In recent years the domination of Japan's economy by this *Zaibatsu* has been complete. Contrary to general opinion, the war has tremendously strengthened the great monopolies. All the rich areas conquered by the Japanese armed forces have been parceled out to the *Zaibatsu*. Within Japan proper the Tojo government's man-power and production decrees have driven many small and medium concerns out of business and forced others to "amalgamate" with the trusts. The trusts have become so powerful that Tojo, although he made repeated attempts, was never able to achieve full control over the Japanese economy. In fact Tojo's inability to get along with the *Zaibatsu*, together with the deteriorating military situation, was an important cause of his downfall. It is of tremendous significance that the Munitions Ministry, which was established by Tojo and headed by him in his final effort to gain control of the Japanese economy, is now headed by Ginjiro Fujiwara, a Mitsui man.

If State Department policies were allowed to proceed unhindered, they would play directly into the hands of the *Zaibatsu*. The department persists in regarding Japanese militarism in such a narrow context that to all intents and purposes its elimination would be accomplished by the trial and execution or imprisonment of the several score "military gangsters" who are presumably responsible for Japan's aggression. There has been very little recognition of the fact that Japanese militarism, like German Nazism, is an organic disease, that it is rooted in Japan's past inability to find a peaceful solution of its economic problems.

Men in the State Department's Office of Far Eastern Affairs will explain to you that Japan requires its international cartel ties in order to carry on the trade needed to sustain its dense population. They seem to ignore the fact that the present economic organization of Japan, with its exploitation of workers and peasants, affords an extremely limited internal market and consequently is a constant goad toward aggressive economic imperialism.

It is against this background that President Roosevelt's blow-up at the end of August over the "soft" character of the Civil Affairs Guides for Germany assumes such great importance. These Guides, sponsored by the State and War departments, displayed the same tender regard for German cartels that is characteristic of the attitude of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs toward Japan. When the President rebuked Secretaries Stimson and Hull for their proposed handling of Germany and gave his support to the more severe treatment advocated by Secretary Morgenthau and the Foreign Eco-

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nomic Administration, he also threw a small-sized bombshell into the planning for Japan.

Previously this planning had been divided into two parts—political planning by the State Department and economic planning by the Liberated Areas section of the FEA. Until the blow-up the FEA had been constrained to restrict its economic planning to the limits set by the political planners in the State Department. Afterward, not only was the German section of the FEA given primary responsibility for removing the economic basis for renewed aggression in Germany, but the Far Eastern section was freed from subordination to State Department policy on Japan. It was told to go ahead and plan a thoroughgoing renovation of the Japanese economy. Under the leadership of Lauchlin Currie, the President's liberal adviser on Far Eastern affairs, the FEA economists are tackling the problem at its economic roots. They recognize both the complicity of the *Zaibatsu* in aggression and the primary necessity of agrarian reform in any peaceful Japan.

Although the chances of a sane policy with regard to post-war Japan have been improved, the fight is by no means over. The FEA economic planners recognize a formidable opponent in Eugene Hoffman Dooman, a little-known key figure in the Far Eastern wing of the State Department. Japanese policy planning is nominally headed by Joseph Clark Grew, our former Ambassador to Tokyo, now director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs. Actually, the major role is played by Dooman.

Born in Osaka, Japan, fifty-four years ago, Mr. Dooman has spent thirty-two years in the State Department, sixteen of them in Japan. At the outbreak of the war he was counselor to the embassy, that is, second in command to Ambassador Grew. In some circles he has been considered the department's outstanding expert on Japanese politics. During his long stay in Japan Mr. Dooman acquired a large number of friends among the upper-class Japanese, but despite his extensive connections, or perhaps because of them, he completely missed the significance of the assumption of power by General Tojo on October 18, 1941—just six weeks before the attack on Pearl Harbor. General Tojo represented that group in Japanese military and industrial circles which banked on the effect of the Nazi victories and the success of a well-planned series of surprise attacks on inadequately defended Allied positions throughout the Pacific. The man Tojo replaced, Prince Konoye, was no angel of peace, having led Japan into the war against China in 1937, but he did have a healthy respect for American industry and was not willing to gamble on a long shot. Tojo was swept into power by Hitler's victories and Konoye's inability to get the United States to recognize Japanese hegemony over China.

Mr. Dooman believed that Tojo's assumption of power gave the United States a better opportunity of coming to an agreement with Japan, since it could now deal with the militarists directly, without going through a civilian Premier. American newspapermen cabled this interpretation (Otto D. Tolischus, "Tokyo Record," pp. 271-72), and the Ambassador sent it to Washington as his own ("Ten Years in Japan," p. 460). Meanwhile the Japanese fleet and army deployed for their surprise attacks.

After Mr. Dooman's return from Japan on the Gripsholm he remained in the background for a time. He was opposed to the policies of Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, head of what was then known as the Far Eastern Division, who favored the transformation of Japan into an agricultural country incapable of waging modern war. After Mr. Grew took Dr. Hornbeck's place as director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Mr. Dooman turned up as his special assistant.

Mr. Dooman is an energetic and able man with extensive experience in Japan, and he is fighting with the dogged perseverance of one who wants to prove that, after all, he was right. Apparently still a great admirer of Prince Konoye, he tells intimates that he thinks the Prince would be a good man for the position of post-war Premier of Japan—appeasement again in the classic style.

[*Readers of The Nation have often expressed their appreciation of Behind the Enemy Line, in which Argus, using German source material, throws light on developments inside Germany. We are happy to inaugurate with this article a similar series dealing with Japan. Pacificus is the pen name of an American writer whose special position prevents the disclosure of his identity. Argus will continue to comment on German events during the final phase of the war in Europe.*—A. DEL V.]

Why the Wehrmacht Fights On

BY KARL O. PAETEL

AT THE time of writing no one can anticipate exactly how fast the American First Army, which has opened a powerful new offensive against the Siegfried Line north of Aachen, will advance. The opinion which prevailed at the beginning of September that the war in Germany "would be over in six weeks" seems now to have been premature. German resistance stiffened as soon as the Allied armies tried to consolidate their initial penetrations of German territory. Two factors have helped the Germans to make a stand. First, Dr. Goebbels's Ministry has exploited everything said or written in the Allied nations about the dismemberment of Germany or its transformation into an agrarian country. Second—and more important from the military point of view—what remains of the Wehrmacht is now

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under the vigorous and integrated leadership of commanders who are 100 per cent Nazi, unconditional adherents of the party.

But if the commanders are 100 per cent Nazi, hundreds of thousands of men in the German army are not Nazi at all. And if the chance were given to them, they would throw down their arms and go home. Many of them, instead of going home, might even turn their guns against the Nazis. They cannot do that now because the Gestapo espionage in the army has been operating for the last few months with an intensity which cannot be imagined by anyone who has not experienced Gestapo methods. The soldiers are subjected to the same rigorous control as the millions of foreign workers in Germany.

Most discussions of the German army err in assuming that its leaders form a homogeneous body, independent of the National Socialist Party. In reality, there never has been a politically independent army command. True, many different political tendencies have been represented in it. Even after Hitler took power, some officers had sincere monarchist ideals and thought that the Third Reich was only a transitional period before the restoration. But these men were a minority with no popular following and with no chance of winning over other officers to their views. They were elderly men who lived in their memories of the Kaiser's time, when the army was the "upper crust" of national society.

A pro-Russian group of officers composed another minority; under the influence of the former Reichswehr chief, General von Seeckt, they favored a rapprochement with Russia. Some also played with radical ideas, asserting that "the role of the army was not to protect the interests of the rich." After the death of General von Fritsch at the beginning of the Polish campaign the influence of this group diminished rapidly. There was always a far greater number of officers who came from Nazi circles or who had responded to the persistent propaganda of the National Socialist Party.

With each of these groups following its own inclinations and none strong enough to compel a common orientation in the officer corps, it was not difficult for the Nazis to hold the balance of power and to prevent the development of independent thought or of any movement contrary to the interests of the National Socialist Party. Moreover, the Nazis could always claim that Hitler had rendered the officer corps a great service by restoring to it the prestige and social splendor of the Kaiser's era.

And yet a certain nucleus of opposition remained—men who felt that their monarchist hopes had been betrayed, or whose plans had been deranged by the declaration of war against Russia, or simply those, most numerous in the higher ranks, who could not tolerate the military "intuition" of the party leaders. These officers become more and more embittered as divisions which could have been withdrawn safely were left to die or surrender just to serve the mad political strategy of the Führer. It was their dissatisfaction which gave rise to all the theories and reports we have been hearing since the beginning of 1943 about strong political opposition to Hitler in the army. There was opposition all right, but it was not political in a real sense.

The events of July 20, 1944, wiped it out entirely. Since then, the army command has been in the hands of the Nazi Party. The Wehrmacht has become a National Socialist army. And that is why it is now quite willing to carry out the party's policy of resistance to the bitter end.

The victor of July 20 was neither Goebbels nor Göring, no matter how many new functions and titles they were accorded. The victor was Himmler. To begin with, the *Luftflotte Reich* under General Stumpf was put entirely at his disposal, so that he could throw the weight of German aviation against any attempt at revolt, either at the front or inside Germany. In addition, he was enabled to extend his power over the Wehrmacht. His special units, the *Feldgendarmerie,* the *Geheime Feldpolizei,* the *Sicherheitspolizei*—all three in uniforms similar to the army's, all three just a variation of his central police—were given the task of watching every move of both officers and soldiers, day and night, at the front, on furloughs, and in hospitals.

By means of these organizations and through the political commissars, who had been introduced into the army earlier but were only indirectly under Himmler's command, the strictest control was established. The Nazification of the army was accomplished more successfully than the mobilization drive with which Dr. Goebbels was intrusted. The process was aided by the incorporation of units of the S. S. in Arms into larger army units; an S. S. brigade, for instance, with all Nazi officers and as many proved Nazi soldiers as possible, would be incorporated into an army division or corps, where it could serve simultaneously as a center of desperate resistance in battle and a kind of extended arm of Himmler, to make certain that defeatism or opposition to Hitler did not develop.

What elements of the opposition remain have been completely eliminated from positions of authority and are kept under such strict supervision that they have not the slightest chance of uniting or taking action. It is possible of course that all this will change as the Allied armies advance deeper into Germany and the German defense collapses. But in analyzing the military events of the coming months, it must be remembered that what remains of the German army is now a Nazi army; not many officers will follow the lead of Marshal von Witzleben.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Lodge and the League

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS: HENRY CABOT LODGE. By Karl Schriftgiesser. Little, Brown and Company. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. $3.

NO GENERAL agreement about Henry Cabot Lodge has been reached in the twenty years since his death. This, of course, is not because he was remarkably subtle or mysterious, and neither can it be due to any lack of material—books of his, speeches, state papers, magazine articles, letters, votes—upon which a final judgment might have been based. The real reason is that Lodge's name and reputation have not yet escaped from the atmosphere of bitterly partisan debate in which he mostly lived. He is still the vivid symbol of a controversy, in part of his own making, which has not yet quite come to its climax. We still see him from one or the other side in that controversy. To many, therefore, Lodge is even today the gracious and scholarly gentleman, the profound statesman, the disinterested patriot, who was long ago depicted, mostly in whitewash, by his friend William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts. To at least as many others he is one of those "war criminals" to whom we shall never mete out due punishment because they have gone beyond human wrath and justice.

Mr. Schriftgiesser inclines to the latter view. At any rate, he records in abundance the facts of Lodge's career which make that view at least plausible. In addition to a detailed account of the Senate's attack upon President Wilson's League of Nations proposal, he presents the whole development of mind, character, and motive which made it possible, or necessary, for Lodge to lead in that attack. Somewhat chary in expression of personal opinion, he lets the facts speak. They do. His book is not a "campaign document" precisely, but one can see how it might be put to good use in the present political campaign.

The differences between this book and the one by Bishop Lawrence are amusing and instructive. The Bishop knows nothing, apparently, about those long conferences between Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, then about to die, in which the methods by which Lodge was to attack and defeat Wilson's plan for the League were plotted. But Mr. Schriftgiesser does know about them, and thinks they were important. "The whole broad strategy," he says, "which Lodge, as Captain of the Battalion of Death, carried out in the Senate with miraculous fidelity, was planned almost to the last detail even before the League of Nations had been reduced to paper by the statesmen in Paris. Whatever League the President might bring home, they were ready for it. Whatever form it took, by reservation or amendment they would harry it to its death."

Bishop Lawrence says nothing about the "Round Robin" devised to fight the League proposal by Senator Brandegee of Connecticut and eagerly agreed to by Senator Lodge. He does not see fit to recall the several earlier occasions on which Lodge had asserted his firm belief in international organization. Perhaps he did not know that even as late as 1915 the Senator had said, at Union College: "There is no escape from the proposition that the peace of the world can only be maintained, as the peace and order of a single community are maintained, by the force which unified nations are willing to put behind the peace and order of the world." Mr. Schriftgiesser sees the pertinence of such earlier utterances, and quotes them with telling effect. Thus he condemns Lodge in Lodge's own words, and demolishes the contention of Bishop Lawrence that the Senator from Massachusetts fought the League proposal in a spirit of unselfish and high-minded statesmanship. In place of this he establishes, little by little, the motive of personal hostility. After reading his book one is tempted to say that America rejected the League for no better reason than that Lodge hated Wilson "as only a small man can hate a great one."

Mr. Schriftgiesser does not say that, and of course the actual event was enormously more complicated than such a statement suggests. Lodge was only one member, though the most able and influential, of that "little group of wilful men." Throughout the contest he felt, rightly, that he was executing the wishes of his dead friend Theodore Roosevelt, whose hatred of Wilson has never been questioned. To go farther back, both of these men had been profoundly affected by the ideas of Vice-Admiral Mahan—not commonly regarded as a man of any political influence, but in fact an imperialist and isolationist at once whose pervading effect upon the history of the last fifty years cannot be exaggerated.

So seldom do we have the satisfaction of pointing out this or that betrayer of human hopes and saying, with perfect assurance, "Thou art the man!" With reference to America's rejection of the League, the "gentleman from Massachusetts" is not even a good candidate for that bad eminence. Wily but not wise, arrogant rather than proud, glittering with no glow, Henry Cabot Lodge seems never to have been visited by an idea, even a wrong one, that can be called original. Partly by means of his prestige and his great skill in political and parliamentary chicane, a dreadful wrong was done which has now involved the entire world, but for that wrong he cannot be held wholly responsible. In our effort to assess the blame we ought not to stop short, at any rate, of those politicians and voters who kept Lodge in the Senate for more than thirty years.

We do not often read the life-story of a dead man as we do a tale of mystery, with steadily mounting eagerness to know how it will "turn out." That can happen only when we realize that the life under consideration is unfinished, in the sense that the forces of good and evil which it set in motion, or at least corroborated, are still at work. Mr. Schriftgiesser has presented, accurately and responsibly, a life of that sort. His book is therefore as timely as the morning's news. One would like to put it into the hands of every member of the United States Senate, if only to show once more how long and at what a cost "the evil that men do lives after them."

ODELL SHEPARD

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Spanish American Mosaic

THE GREEN CONTINENT: A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF LATIN AMERICA BY ITS LEADING WRITERS. An Anthology Selected and Edited by Germán Arciniegas. Translated by Harriet de Onis and Others. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

IN MANY ways this book is a model of anthology making. The idea on which it is based—"to present a picture of Latin America as seen by Latin Americans"—will be welcomed by readers no longer content to take their information about the southern continent out of the pill boxes of itinerant journalists. The method is interesting: to choose an editor of intelligence and understanding who is himself a Latin American but familiar with the ways of Anglo-Saxon America, who already has a reputation as an interpreter of one continent to the other; to have him form a skeleton plan that includes man and landscape, history, heroes, the cities, "the color of life," then stretch above that skeleton a series of pertinent excerpts from Latin American writing which bear on those sections, and bridge the gap between pieces with paragraphs both subtle and brilliant which provide liaison and a sense of the whole.

What should result, if the pieces are carefully selected and the cement judiciously applied, is one of those mosaics in the best Spanish tradition, made of words instead of tiling, to be enjoyed both for the beauty of its individual bits and for the scope of the picture they produce.

Germán Arciniegas is one of the few people who could safely be intrusted with so difficult an assignment. Formerly Minister of Education in Colombia, author of two vivid recreations of early Latin American history which have been translated into English, active in inter-continental affairs, he has the skill and the knowledge which the task demands. His introductory essays are both valuable and charming. His individual bits are chosen from among the best of Latin American writing old and new. Benjamin Carrión is here, and Juan de Meléndez, Erico Veríssimo, Gabriela Mistral, and José Enrique Rodó, Jorge Mañach and Domingo Sarmiento. In themselves the bits are fascinating. Vasconcelos's description of his visit to the great falls of Iguassú, Flavio Herrera's evocation of the trials of coffee-growing, Cespedes's tale of trying to get water for thirsty soldiers in the midst of the Chaco war—these among others give a vivid sense of people, place, and motive.

In paying his respects to the time element Arciniegas took from original chronicles certain material which he had previously reworked in his "Knight of El Dorado." Some of it has been rendered more comprehensible by the present war than it was when he first used it. Pizarro's cruelty to Atahualpa in the sixteenth century is illumined by German cruelty to the citizens of Lidice in the twentieth. On the other hand, Juan de Meléndez's description of the Rose of Lima is less successful in evoking seventeenth-century Peru. To us in 1944 religious fervor that takes the form of self-torture is harder to understand than patriotic fervor that takes the form of torturing someone else.

It is an interesting comment on the kind of gulf dividing the two continents that jungle, pampas, cities, and bits of drama laid in those settings are more real than are the people described and admired. South American heroes still strut in a fashion so different from the strutting of our own that they seem artificial. Verbal fever and ague haunt the prose that praises them, and of the seven "bronzes and marbles" pictured here, only Sarmiento the educator and Dom Pedro the wistful patron of learning come alive for us.

And the mosaic as a whole? It must be admitted that in spite of the editor's great skill the whole still remains a mirage. Perhaps that very failure to create a unit is a measure of the book's validity. For a long time we have been told that South America and South Americans were illusions created by distance, and that on closer acquaintance they would dissolve into Argentina and Argentinians, Chile and Chileans, and so on. Here is an attempt to reverse the process. Here are the lands, their people, their ways. Bound within the covers of a single book, they still refuse to merge. Cemented together by the brilliant comment of a single editor, strained into the English of a single translator (with a few exceptions), even this process has failed to conquer their intransigent individuality.

Two mechanical changes would have helped the reader. The individual pieces need precise dating under their titles. One wants to know, for instance, when José Vasconcelos visited Iguassú, when the Spaniards tortured Atahualpa, when the gaucho outlaw flourished. Today? In 1900? In 1560?

One also longs for another format. Nothing better illustrates the inadequacies of modern publishing than the dress in which this transcendent scrapbook appears. By present-day standards the book is cleanly printed, of a size easy to handle, agreeable to sight and touch. But present-day standards are not enough for the gems herein collected. They call for nineteenth-century display, an ample volume with fine descriptions matched by fine engravings on which the eye may linger. In this plain printed form the reader's imagination must do too much—set and light the stage, move the characters about in time as well as space—without pictorial aid or the flavor of the originals to aid him. These bits cover a dozen countries and were taken from books written and printed over the course of four centuries, with all the change in thought and style and standard which that implies. In translation, and in this format, too much of their savor has been lost, too many of the characteristics that marked their period have been strained away. And if that sounds ungrateful, it is only because the book is so good that one wishes it were even better.

MILDRED ADAMS

A Chinese Critic of China

CHINA LOOKS FORWARD. By Sun Fo. The John Day Company. $3.

TOO few Americans, it is to be feared, will have the interest or the patience to read through carefully this valuable collection of Sun Fo's speeches and articles covering the period since 1940. Those who do will find a man and a mind that is seeking to grapple with the real problems of China and the world. They may not wholly agree with his facts and interpretations as to the West, although they

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will quite probably be surprised at the incisiveness of his criticism. They may question certain aspects of his approach to specifically Chinese problems, but they will be impressed by his obvious desire for solutions that will promote democracy and social advance in China.

On these last two issues Sun Fo becomes steadily more critical, and even alarmist, as he appraises the trend of events at Chungking and within the Kuomintang during recent years. As president of the legislative Yuan and son of the Chinese Republic's founder, he can speak out more freely than many of his compatriots. Most of the twenty-four speeches or articles here included run back several years. Only two were delivered in 1944, but these are notable pieces. No foreign critic has matched the vigor and candor of the statements in these chapters (pp. 105-122). On the democratic issue Sun Fo deals mainly with the Kuomintang, the Youth Corps, and the "tutelage" problem.

"We know," he declares, "that a party or a political force would easily become the object of revolution if it did not maintain a democratic attitude toward its people, or if it became the ruling caste in the state after it had gained power. Unfortunately, we have in the past assumed unwillingly the attitude and habit of a ruling caste. The suppression of outside criticism against our party, and even criticism by our party comrades, bespeaks this fact. . . . Recently public opinion in Great Britain and the United States has criticized China. Why? Because they fear that China may take the road to fascism, for they feel that the Kuomintang is moving in the direction of dictatorship. . . ."

Turning next to the Youth Corps, Sun Fo inquires why the younger generation is "apathetic" toward this Kuomintang agency. He finds the answer in the kind of training instituted by the corps for its members. "Instead of guiding them to think for themselves," he says, "it has been drilling them to repeat by rote the *San-Min-Chu-I* [Three People's Principles] political creed. Instead of teaching them the methods of democratic practice and leadership, it has been imposing upon them military regimentation. . . . As a result, the people we are turning out from the various training centers become rather like puppets. The first thing they learn to perfection is how to click heels at the mention of, or mere reference to, the Supreme Leader [Generalissimo Chiang]. Heel-clicking may be proper in the army, but it is not the appropriate thing to do among people in a democratic country."

His remarks on political tutelage are no less cutting. "The talk about our people's inexperience for self-government is sickening. I have no patience with such talk." Citing the examples of India and the Philippines, he asks: "Do we desire to degrade China to the status of a sub-colonial country, by insisting that our Chinese people are still unfit for self-government?" He continues: "If this assertion . . . is true, great indeed is the failure of the Kuomintang in its mission of tutelage to train our people for democratic government. We have been at it now for sixteen years. This is a long time as human life is measured. . . . Yet after sixteen years of political tutelage, we say the Chinese people are still unfit and unready for self-government!"

Sun Fo evidently considers the promised constitution, inauguration of which is to terminate the Kuomintang's mo-

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nopoly of power, to be the essential answer to China's political problem. As one of the authors of the draft constitution prepared by the Kuomintang, Sun Fo sets himself to answer criticisms which have been leveled against its undemocratic features. While these pages throw light on the nature of the draft constitution, the text of which is given in an appendix, they do not cover a most vital point. Exactly how will the Kuomintang's relinquishment of sole power be assured? Controlling the machinery of election, the Kuomintang might well perpetuate its power in legal form. Sun Fo is not unaware of this possibility. He warns of the danger of "a bogus record of votes in the future when constitutional government has been enforced."

Only the briefest mention can be given to Sun Fo's equally frank treatment of China's pressing social and economic problems. He links them directly to the political issue: "Village government is now and has been for a long time the private preserve of the corrupt gentry and rapacious landowners. Since the war, the tyrannous grip of these local leaders over the village people has been tighter than ever. Taking advantage of the government measures for the collection of grain and the conscription of soldiers, these people have increased their power for evil-doing, all at the expense of our helpless peasantry, who are the real heroes in this war—for are they not the people who grow the food for the cities and provide the recruits for the army?"

He excoriates the role of hoarders and speculators generally in the crisis which grips China's war economy, but centers his attack on the landlords. "Grain collection," he states, "has not yet reached its saturation point; the system employed in levying and buying needs to be much improved. The share contributed by most of the land-owning class is still too light, while self-cultivators and tenant farmers are bearing too heavy a burden. Landowners as a whole have reaped large fortunes these few years. . . ."

Like his father before him, Sun Fo is anxious to fulfil the Kuomintang's historic pledge of "the land to the tiller." He would have the state take title to all the land and lease it to the cultivator, but does not specifically indicate how expropriation is to be effected. But though all the answers may not be given in his book, the problems are laid bare with an unflinching courage and an unmatched clarity. Lin Yu-tang's rather cynically approving comment in the Introduction anent "thinking heads that dream beautiful dreams for the masses of the people" would appear to be uncalled-for and unnecessary.

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Suggestions for the Peace

THE NEW EUROPE. By Bernard Newman. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

THE value of blueprints for a post-war Europe largely depends on the *juste milieu* between our own wishful thinking and what is likely to happen anyway. Disregard of coming events and of human nature in search of a peaceful paradise is likely to land us in a fools' paradise. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of people all over the world are longing for peace and prosperity; it is very doubtful whether there is any short cut to this goal.

This book, which the author calls "a sort of elementary handbook to the peace conference," is primarily concerned with the future frontiers of that turbulent continent. Considering the intricacies of the problem, the ethnic frontiers the author suggests on the basis of the Atlantic Charter are fair and reasonable. If he assumes the probable resurgence of nationalism after the war, he pays little heed to the economic aspects. Mr. Newman believes that "a European Federation is not merely possible, but inevitable." Nevertheless, years of ardent work are necessary before the idea can be firmly planted. In accordance with Winston Churchill the author, after examining the frontiers of thirteen countries, proposes the formation of regional federations: a Western Federation including Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, a Scandinavian, a Balkan, an Iberian Federation, and so forth. However, as the author himself admits, the German problem is the most vital of all.

There is a great range of views, from those which discriminate between good Germans and bad Germans to those which hold the only good German is a dead one. Every civilized European shares Mr. Newman's desideratum: "Never again shall Germany be placed in a position where she can ravage Europe." But the means by which this end can be achieved are not so easy to agree upon. Germany should be, of course, allowed no army, no navy, no armament industry; Allied garrisons on the Rhine should be permanent; moreover, on "strategic grounds" the Danish frontier should be pushed south, East Prussia added to Poland, and Upper Silesia given to the Central European Federation. All this, the author himself admits, is scarcely consistent with the essential proviso

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for a permanent peace that "it must be ultimately accepted by Germany." This difficulty the author apparently hopes to overcome by reviving the "provincial patriotism which still exists in many parts of Germany," by uniting the reestablished old German states in a German Federation, but splitting up Prussia into the old provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia.

This seems, however, rather a circumvention than a solution of the vital problem, which in Germany as elsewhere is aggressive nationalism. According to the author himself this nationalism still pervades Europe. Shoving Germany back into its pre-national structure phase is not likely to alleviate or overcome the national inferiority complex for which Hitlerism is but a berserk overcompensation. Peace cannot be secured by playing hide-and-seek with the idea of nationalism, which is unfortunately not an exclusively German phenomenon. G. B. Shaw may be right in his preface to "The Millionairess" when he says that nationalist patriotism is the "everyday resort of capitalism and feudalism as a red herring across the scent of communism," but no change in the economic system can remove the emotional basis of nationalism. Perhaps some future Cervantes will successfully ridicule the "romantic pompousness" of nationalism, but even then a substitute has to be found for the national emotion as one was found for outmoded chivalry.

Mr. Newman's extremely well-written book is based both on studies on the spot and on thorough knowledge of political geography. Slight inaccuracies occur (Hungary was no "Socialist republic" under Count Karolyi), but those who are going to prepare the peace can scarcely do without this useful guidebook through the European wilderness. Incidentally, since the author was sent to America as a lecturer by the British Ministry of Information it is improbable that his views conflict with official British policy.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Fiction in Review

Brief Mention

AMONG the new fall novels about which you might wish to hear briefly there are several importations. From England comes "Cluny Brown" by Margery Sharp (Little, Brown, $2.50), light-fingered and literate in the English fashion, the pleasant fanciful romance of a servant girl who doesn't know her place. If you enjoyed "The Nutmeg Tree" by the same author, you will probably enjoy this new bit of chaise-longue reading. Miss Sharp is not unrelated to Angela Thirkell, though she is rather lower-drawer; less witty than Mrs. Thirkell, she has the advantage of being fonder of her fellow-man. "The Barricades" by Philip Toynbee (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50), English too, also has the English virtues of liveliness and literacy. Mr. Toynbee's novel is about a schoolmaster who, during an enforced vacation, decides to become an adventurer but instead finds himself involved with a former student bent on joining the Spanish Loyalists. It alternates between an Evelyn Waugh-like sophistication and a curious political naivete, as if Mr. Toynbee were fixed at the first stage of left-wing sympathies. And one is surprised, in these days when one takes the mechanics of story-telling for granted, at Mr. Toynbee's difficulty in suggesting such things as the passing of time or the movement of people in a room.

A young Canadian woman, Gwethalyn Graham, is the author of "Earth and High Heaven" (Lippincott, $2.50), which was serialized in *Collier's* with marked success and is now a Literary Guild selection. A novel about intermarriage between Jew and Gentile, "Earth and High Heaven" speaks up boldly on the subject of anti-Semitism; it also makes the point that Jews, out of their sentiments of inferiority, create many of their own difficulties. It is a point susceptible of larger treatment than Miss Graham gives it, but "Earth and High Heaven" is tasteful and sensible. I think it will be read widely, and that will be a very good thing.

Margaret Halsey's "Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers" (Simon and Schuster, $2.50), described by the author as only "a kind of novel," is a series of letters from a bright brave New York girl to her brother in the army. In the course of Gretchen's correspondence, Girl meets Boy, loses him and gets him again in the prescribed order; but clearly Miss Halsey's heart is not only in the right but in the left place: her major interest is racial tolerance, and Gretchen's letters are sealed with what we might call PMotions of social love. Miss Halsey's arguments against prejudice are interspersed with the rapid-fire gags made famous by the same writer's "With Malice Toward Some."

Then there is "Lie Down in Darkness" by H. R. Hays (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.50), a study in suburban evil. Deliberately underwritten, strenuously quiet, Mr. Hays's

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novel of murder among the teacups may have been intended to set up overtones of serious social and psychological meaning. I found it a Hitchcock movie—on just that level of observation and carrying the same vital conviction.

The short stories of Philip Freund, in a new collection called "The Young Greek and the Creole" (Pilgrim House, $2.50), are extremely puzzling. Conceived and written in the grand manner, they fall strangely short of grandeur; they have the touch of the master, yet they are simply not masterly. The fact is that Mr. Freund is so consciously traditional that his stories seem anachronistic, pompous, even false, and his volume raises once more the question of the proper relation of the contemporary writer with the past. For despite his very real gifts, Mr. Freund is the gifted imitator rather than the gifted pupil; he has studied his masters too slavishly, and his mind is on his *ideal* of a story instead of on what he wants to say. The training that a writer like Hemingway, for example, put himself through could be cited as a lesson to Mr. Freund. Just as Mr. Freund seems to have studied Mann or Zweig or Maugham, Hemingway tells us he studied Stendhal. But Hemingway studied Stendhal in order to learn a way in which to say what he himself saw and thought to be true, not to reproduce the effect that Stendhal had got, and the result was a manner so individualized that it, in turn, produced a line of imitators. One wants to tell Mr. Freund that, having studied the teachers of his choice, he must now look at the world with his own eyes, say what he himself sees and feels, and have the courage, if need be, to fall far short of his models. Certainly the stories in "The Young Greek and the Creole" could be much less impressive and "classic" and still be much better.

Finally there is "Green Dolphin Street" by Elizabeth Goudge (Coward, McCann, $3), which won the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer prize of $125,000—and quite properly too. A movie is a movie is a movie, and a novel as long and detailed as "Green Dolphin Street" is hard work.

DIANA TRILLING

The Modern Maid

SIMONE. By Lion Feuchtwanger. The Viking Press. $2.50.

"SIMONE" tells of a fifteen-year-old orphan who lives in a French village with an uncle and "Madame," his stepmother, who bullies the man and tyrannizes over the girl. Simone so identifies herself with Joan of Arc that when she is tried by her betrayers for having set her uncle's hoard of gasoline on fire (to prevent the Nazis getting it), "her own life and the life of Joan of Arc flowed into each other . . . Simone of this moment *was* Joan."

That may be so for Mr. Feuchtwanger. For me, the maids of France and Feuchtwanger bear not the remotest resemblance to each other. The latter strikes me as having "Made in Hollywood" written all over her. The book, in fact, reads like the first draft of a movie script. The characters are so unreal, the story so unconvincing, the atmosphere so un-French that it is almost an insult to France. It's about time authors returned to writing books on paper instead of celluloid.

I shall be surprised if Hollywood is not already at work on "Simone," and even more surprised if the book doesn't become a best-seller.

JAMES STERN

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FILMS

IF YOU laid "Double Indemnity" and "Frenchman's Creek" end to end you might still prefer to spend the evening with "Madame Bovary"; yet you might find a few things mildly worth examining in these two so different, so similar reflections of current attitudes toward bourgeois adultery. The James Cain story, under Billy Wilder's control, is to a fair extent soaked in and shot through with money and the coolly intricate amorality of money; you can even supply the idea, without being contradicted by the film, that among these somewhat representative Americans money and sex and a readiness to murder are as inseparably interdependent as the Holy Trinity. Wilder also has a real feeling, on a not-quite-real, smart level, for the streets and suffocating marriage hutches and calm-lighted Piggly Wigglies and heartlessly resonant offices of his city, and I agree that his casting of Fred MacMurray and Barbara Stanwyck and Edward G. Robinson is perceptive. But not that it is wholly successful.

Indeed, the picture never fully takes hold of its opportunities, such as they are, perhaps because those opportunities are appreciated chiefly as surfaces and atmospheres and as very tellable trash. It is proper enough, for instance, that Barbara Stanwyck should suggest a greatly coarsened *Esquire* drawing and that her affair with MacMurray should essentially be as sexless as it is loveless. Her icy hair and teeth and dresses are well worked out toward communicating this idea. But in Wilder's apparent desire to make it clear that nympholepts are cold he has neglected to bring to life the sort of freezing rage of excitations which such a woman presumably inspires in such a fixer as Walter Neff; this sort of genre love-scene ought to smell like the inside of an overwrought Electrolux. Wilder has not made much, either, of the tensions of the separateness of the lovers after the murder, or of the coldly nauseated despair and nostalgia which the murderer would feel.

In many ways "Double Indemnity" is really quite a gratifying and even a good movie, essentially cheap I will grant, but smart and crisp and cruel like a whole type of American film which developed softening of the brain after the early thirties. But if at the same time you are watching for all that could have been got out of it, you cannot help being disappointed as well as pleased.

The Cain story is trash at best; at its worst it is highly respectable, set beside Daphne du Maurier's little bathroom classic, "Frenchman's Creek." I have always thought—not very originally, I imagine—that the essence of Madame Bovary and her millions of great-granddaughters is masturbation, literal as often as figurative. This film, like the "novel" it improves on, is masturbation-fantasy triple-distilled, infallible as any real-life dream and as viciously fascinating as reading such a dream over the terrible dreamer's shoulder.

The shoulder of the actual dreamer, here, and of the audience, is unmistakably that of a suburban fat-mama. But on the screen there is magically no such thing: she is an English noblewoman of the Restoration, and lovely to look at, at that. Her husband is no sacksuited dollar-chaser but a London fop. Her country refuge is not some little place in Connecticut; it is a whackingly beautiful mansion on the Cornish coast. Her lover, a local pirate who loves life and lives it as he likes, is more of a composite. With his accent, his gently insolent bearing, and his knowledgeable eyes, he is that sort of European who panics sensitive young matrons by observing that your "Amarican men, sharming and antoozieyestic as they are, know noddinx oof lahv"—or, as usefully, by sad-eyed muting of reference to his experience in concentration camps he never saw; at the same time he is easily recognizable as the sort of tousleheaded, briar-sucking commercial artist who fancies himself as a second Gauguin on Sundays, who has gone hermit at $20,000 a year, and who threatens every smug harbor on both shores of Long Island Sound with his trim little launch. None of the unusually resourceful Technicolor, wax-fruit dialogue, or munificence of costume and social degree conceals the fact that this is really just an archetypally sordid, contemporary middle-bracket flirtation, told without perception, warmth, honor, or irony from the center of a soul like a powder-parlor—but told, in those terms, with the gloves off, and every cowardly emotion and creepy desire and sniveling motive caught red-handed.

As the life of this party Joan Fontaine has a prettiness and vivacity which I had not suspected of her. She also develops, in place of any believable semblance of erotic or emotional passion, a sort of excitement which I find appropriate to the story, and revealing of its audience beyond cavil. As she conducts her discreet little coastal cruise along the coves and peninsulas of adultery, she never once suggests a woman in love or even in confusion; but she does constantly suggest a Vassar girl on a picket line.

JAMES AGEE

Art Note

TALENT, ambition, and a sojourn in Paris have done as much as they could for Abraham Rattner. The rest must be supplied by the pressure of intelligence and feeling. What Rattner has produced so far is more the proclamation than the result of emotional pressure. Rattner should not let himself be over-tempted by the succulence of paint; he should relinquish some of the richness and ripeness, the hot vitreous color, and the attempt to synthesize Rouault, stained glass and its leading, cubism and Picasso.

Rattner's latest work (at Rosenberg's through October 14) shows he has advanced, nevertheless, in the last year or so. The elements of a tighter and less clamant art begin to appear in the small, fractured, prismatic details in the central passages of some of the new pictures. The energy, however, is wastefully concentrated at the geometric center of the canvas and dissipated elsewhere. The orange sun at the top and the brown banjo at the bottom of the big "Clowns and Kings" jump out of all relation to the powerfully invented pattern in the middle. Like Masson, Rattner remains one of those artists who seem never to be able to escape the state of promise.

C. G.

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RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S October list offers Stokowski's orchestral version of Bach's Fugue in G minor for organ, described as the "little" G minor to distinguish it from the great Fantasia and Fugue in the same key. It lasts only the four minutes or so of a twelve-inch record-side (11992-D; $1); but in that time Stokowski manages to exhibit one by one the woodwinds, the groups of strings, and the brass, and to end with a ponderous and thunderous peroration suitable for a three-hour mass. Also he moulds each statement of the theme by one of the woodwinds of the All-American Orchestra with finicky shadings. The sounds of these instruments are reproduced with lifelike clarity and fidelity; the brass also is well reproduced; but the recording fails miserably with the strings: the low ones are wooden; the higher ones sound curiously hollow and distorted; and the sound of the violins is in addition full of grit. But strangely enough the sound of the performance of the engaging Scherzo from Still's Afro-American Symphony on the reverse side is natural, clear, and brilliant.

As it happens the great G minor Fantasia and Fugue of Bach is also on Columbia's list, transcribed for orchestra by Mitropoulos and performed by him with the Minneapolis Symphony (Set X-244; $2.50). Again one hears not music performed but an orchestra shown off—with the usual constant shifting of a contrapuntal voice from one instrument to another, the usual monstrous inflation and over-emphasis, made worse by the Mitropoulos tendency to nervous violence, which produces things like the brass playing florid passages with the ease of elephants dancing ballet steps. And not one of those over-emphatic drumbeats with the massive opening chords is on time. The performance is recorded with clarity and fidelity.

Then there is a set (X-250; $2.50) illustrating the instruments of the orchestra. With the Petrillo ban still in force Columbia could not have a musician record a passage for his instrument by himself, as Victor did many years ago for its two little records, 20522/3. What Columbia did was to "dub" passages from existing recordings of music—with the result that some instruments are heard mixed up with others, some are heard with the distorted sound they have in two of Columbia's recordings of the Minneapolis Symphony, and even the solo violin passage from "Scheherazade" which sounds excellent in the original recording of the Cleveland Orchestra performance is strident as "dubbed" in the new set. Despite their age the Victor records are better; and they offer the sounds of all the percussion instruments, whereas the Columbia set offers only that of the kettledrum. (This set, incidentally, is issued in connection with a music-appreciation book, "Evenings with Music" by Syd Skolsky (Dutton; $3). I won't waste space on all the reasons why I think it is a bad book, but will give one sample of its contents: not only does the author set her readers to beating out the time for each measure of a symphony movement and tell them they must have counted out 201 measures at the end of the first movement of Mozart's G minor, but the time she gives them to beat for this *alla breve* movement is four-quarter.)

The rest of Columbia's list is mere repackaging of older recordings. First, Egon Petri's performance of Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 1 is given a new album (Set 318; $4.50). After a few more years of listening to Toscanini's plastic continuity in pace and sonority I now am aware of, and disconcerted by, the discontinuities in the Petri performance; and I also am aware now of the stolidity of his playing, the poor quality of the orchestral performance conducted by Goehr, the unprecise gearing of piano with orchestra. The merit of the set is the agreeable recorded sound and good balance between piano and orchestra; but I now would choose either Victor Set 180, in which Rubinstein's superb playing blankets the orchestra, or Victor Set 800, in which the breathtaking Toscanini-Horowitz performance is recorded with harshness and noisy reverberation.

The Muzio Operatic Recital (Set 259; $4.50) also gets a new album which does not, unfortunately, eliminate the defects of Muzio's performances. The voice is beautiful; but in most of the singing there are no sustained sounds or phrases, but only the kind of constant swelling and diminishing of tone that crooners do.

Then the Beecham-London Philharmonic performances of the Overtures to "Don Giovanni" and "The Merry Wives of Windsor" and Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" and Mendelssohn's "Fingal's Cave" Overtures, previously available on single discs, are put into an album (Set 552; $4.50). The performances are excellent and beautifully recorded; but the "Don Giovanni" comes off the new record with less brightness and sharpness than it does off the original single disc. And finally a single disc (71606-D; $1) couples the superb Beecham-London Philharmonic performance of the Overture to "The Marriage of Figaro" with an old but good recording of the beautiful Pastoral Symphony from Handel's "Messiah" played by Beecham with an unidentified orchestra.

Victor—possibly for sound commercial reasons—continues its waste of good recording, materials, and labor with a set (972; $4.50) of Rachmaninov's Fourth Piano Concerto, in which the composer, operating without ideas, achieves a feeble collection of mannerisms. He plays the solo part with his usual rhythmic and dramatic incisiveness; and the performance with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy is well reproduced. A couple of the sides of my copy sputter badly.

There is more waste in the record (11-8620; $1) of Beethoven's Duet in E flat for viola and cello "mit zwei obligaten Augengläsern," which is boring even though written by Beethoven, and is well performed by Primrose and Feuermann. On another single disc (11-8622; $1) is Brahms's Ballade Opus 118 No. 3—one of the many small piano pieces of Brahms that I dislike for the way they pump up portentousness and sentimentality—which Artur Rubinstein plays well except for a few excessively sentimental touches. On the reverse side is his heavily laden arrangement of Albéniz's "Navarra," which he plays with the virtuosity it is intended to show off. And on still another single disc (10-1114; $.75) are two spirituals, "Water Boy" and "Go Down, Moses," sung sonorously by Norman Cordon.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Johannes Steel Distorts the Facts

Dear Sirs: Johannes Steel, in discussing the "tricky problem of what to do with Germany," in his broadcast over station WMCA on September 18 made the following statements (the italics are mine):

> There are in this country, at this moment, a group of German exiles who, although they are certainly anti-Nazis, insist that a strong Germany be reconstituted after the war. These men, who have disagreed with Hitler's methods but *not with most of his aims,* have begun to infiltrate into certain sections of the American labor and liberal movements.
>
> They have used the freedom of the American press to agitate for a solution which would certainly lead to another war twenty-five years from now. One of these men, *Karl Frank, alias Paul Hagen,* has gone so far as addressing himself by letter to a high British government official asking that he be sent to Germany, on his own conditions, for the purpose of bringing to life a *so-called* anti-Nazi movement.
>
> In this letter Herr Hagen, who enjoys American hospitality, has the temerity to attack American officials *who have prevented his return to Germany,* and by implication asks the British government to *intrigue against* and to oppose those American officials who refuse to let him go to Germany to fish in troubled waters.
>
> Needless to say, the high British personage to whom Herr Hagen addressed his letter did not bother to answer him and turned the letter over to Americans interested in this case.
>
> These German liberals, particularly the Social Democrats, are actively preparing to become the cat's-paw for a new German imperialism precisely as they did in 1918 when they became the tools of the generals who remained after the Kaiser had left. . . .

Mr. Steel's statement that I wrote to a high British official attacking American officials and suggesting that the British government intrigue against these officials is completely untrue.

The confidential correspondence to which he refers is a letter written by me to Lord Vansittart after the American publication of his last book. My letter read as follows:

> The Right Honorable Lord Vansittart
> Denham, Bucks, England
>
> *Dear Sir:* May I call your attention to certain passages in your recently published book, "Lessons of My Life." I quote from pages eight and nine: "For nearly a year they [English pseudo-intellectuals] have been flocking to see a play called 'Watch on the Rhine' under the deliberate delusion that just Germans, as portrayed in that play, are flocking back from the security of the United States to fight Hitler underground. No *such thing has ever happened even once.* The German refugees in the United States and here continue to sit pretty, and I do not blame them. They could not anyhow flock back to nothing. The underground movement in Germany has produced no substantial evidence of its existence."
>
> Passing over "Watch on the Rhine" and its literary depiction of underground activity, I should like to point out that you are entirely wrong, both in your categorical statements and in the deductions you draw about underground resistance. Let us take the last point first. The lists of executions of Germans throughout the war years and during the earlier part of the Nazi regime, for political "crimes," furnish eloquent evidence of the existence of underground resistance. If Hitler's secret state police was not aware of it, what reason was there to maintain concentration camps for political offenders and to fill Germany's prisons to overflowing with persons guilty of crimes against Hitler's state? One day when the archives are open, it may turn out that the anti-Nazi Germans could compete with other nations in martyrdom.
>
> You are also wrong in your statement that no refugee ever returned from the security of England and the United States to fight Hitler underground. I can present concrete and personal evidence to the contrary so far as America is concerned. For technical reasons alone, there could have been only a few; naturally, refugees were restricted in their international movements even in the pre-war period. The anti-Nazi movements were poor; they had little political or technical support. (You yourself have given testimony to the effect that appeasers in the Western countries lined up, not with the anti-Nazis, but with supporters of Hitler.) Since the war began, as you with your extensive knowledge of the conduct of foreign affairs in England and, no doubt, in the United States as well, know, it has been virtually impossible for any German refugee to leave either country to go to Germany or a neutral country to carry on political activities.
>
> This very delicate subject cannot be discussed publicly at the present time. That is why I write you this letter. I want to make a personal proposal to you. Hitler is not yet beaten; you are one of the few in a position to test the validity of your own statements. Try to provide for me technical facilities to get into Germany now, and I shall be glad to accept your good services. My only condition is that I shall be a free agent of our own movement, cooperating, of course, with the military and political warfare services of your country. If you will provide the technical facilities necessary to make the journey, I shall go. If it is necessary, have me invited to London to discuss the matter with the responsible authorities.
>
> I might add that I and my associates have persistently requested such facilities from the authorities here, so far without success. I do not wish to miss another opportunity.
>
> October 28, 1943 KARL B. FRANK

I sent my letter to Lord Vansittart through the British representative for political warfare, stationed here, to whom I said in a covering note: "I inclose a copy of my letter for any American joint control service you would find it necessary to inform. Of course, I do not intend to do anything without their permission." PAUL HAGEN

New York, September 25

Reminder to Register

Dear Sirs: I am convinced that there are still many liberals who have failed to register. I think that there should appear a clear reminder in every coming issue of *The Nation.*

JEAN LE CORBEILLER

Cambridge, Mass., September 23

The American Mercury

Dear Sirs: As a constant reader of *The Nation* and a subscriber for many years and also as a Nation Associate by reason of a modest contribution when *The Nation* was in financial difficulties, I wish to protest vehemently against something I still find hard to believe—and that is the advertisement for the *American Mercury* on page 331 of the finest magazine in America.

It is not possible to reconcile the liberalism and straightforwardness, the anti-fascist and progressive policies of *The Nation* with the fascist publication of Paul Palmer, Lawrence Spivak, and Lawrence Dennis, the latter, as I am sure you know, an indicted seditionist, accused of disloyalty to our country.

I feel that we "old-timers" of *The Nation*—those of us who read it when to do so labeled us as "pinks" if not downright Communists—are entitled to an explanation. If it is a matter of money needed by *The Nation,* your many readers, I'm sure, would prefer to subscribe it rather than have the guilty knowledge that our beloved *Nation* depends for support on the advertising of such a magazine as the *Mercury.*

If memory serves me right, the *Mercury* has been repeatedly taken to task in *The Nation* for its fascist and anti-Semitic utterances. Why this sudden change of heart? Have you ceased to be the constant fighter against fascism, anti-Semitism, red-baiting, and reaction? If

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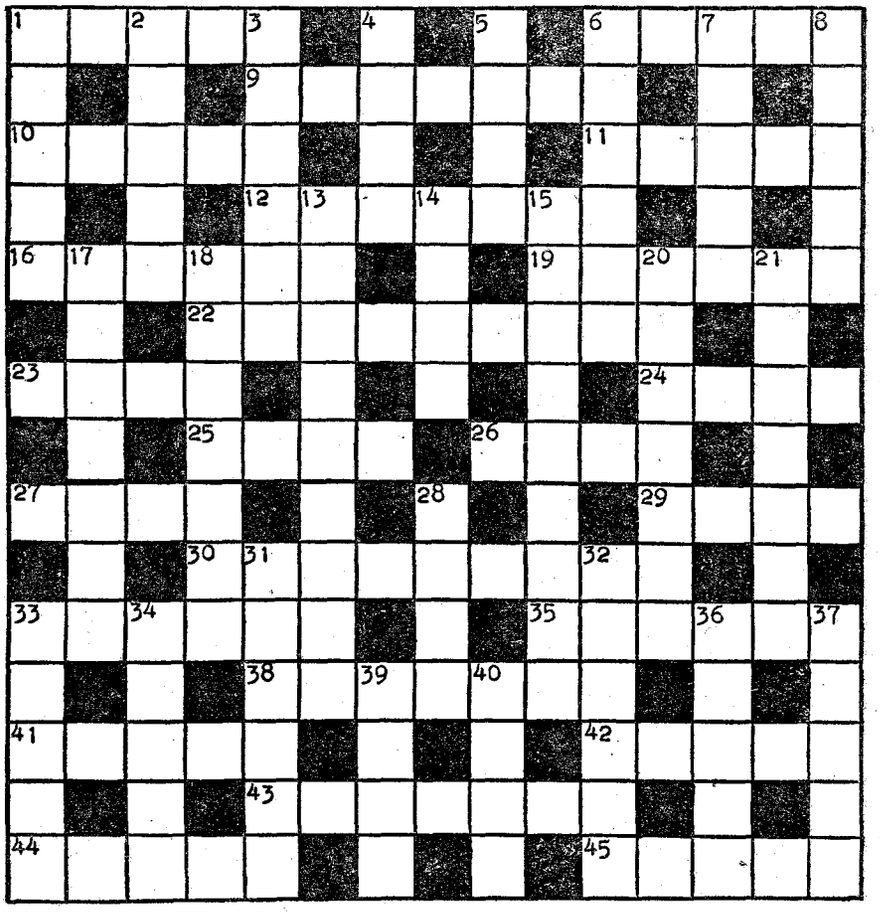
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 85

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Ranks lowest in the British Peerage, because of his bold bad reputation, possibly
6 London's most ancient edifice
9 "Beer, Mac?" (anag.)
10 A mountain pass, I see
11 On the grin
12 Matters of small moment
16 Sergeant Meryll, in *The Yeoman of the Guard*
19 Pointed faithfully over the dim sea, in the Thomas Moore poem
22 Ray Tiller is in The Gunners
23 The baby who swallowed the spoon couldn't
24 Of interest to the ornithologist in Cerne Abbas
25 Dates the ancient Romans kept
26 A great archer
27 Ali sounds sheepish
29 Looks as if it might change to rain in Persia
30 Plight of the plaintiff when his suit was dropped
33 Machine invented by a Briton and a German in the same year
35 Came out from the U. S. side
38 All right in a sheep, but not in a horse (hyphen, 3-4)
41 Fish, with immature interior
42 More people have died here than anywhere else (two words, 2 and 3)
43 English and Portuguese men of title meet and create a dominion
44 Don't wear it on your sleeve
45 Strangely

DOWN

1 Sharp's the word after this
2 He sowed just one wild oat
3 Beverage of the gods
4 A wager to countenance
5 The bird in this cage doesn't sing
6 This puzzle is, we hope
7 A wise man's country, according to Aristippus
8 Where Kitchener's Army practiced?
13 Wink? Not he (anag.)— but has been tipped it (three words, 2, 3, 4)
14 A mineral in ancient alchemy
15 Forcible
17 Mouth water
18 She of the Moated Grange, in the Tennyson poem
20 These protect the pupils
21 Family in a glee
28 You and I are in the Royal Navy, and we don't seem to have done it any good!
31 Man is a better judge of one than any hen
32 I smoke (anag.)
33 The best cheese for a roll
34 Land in Central Africa
36 A hundred-honor suit might be, at bridge
37 Captain of the home team
39 Walls have them
40 The list of clues does here

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 84

ACROSS:—1 NINE OF DIAMONDS; 9 TEMPEST; 10 ASTOLOT; 11 ERNEST; 12 ASCRIBED; 14 LIGHT UP; 15 ONSET; 17 EXACT; 19 GILBERT; 21 RUCKSACK; 23 SCALES; 25 BOLOGNA; 26 OVER TWO; 27 DEAR AT THE PRICE.

DOWN:—1 NOTRE DAME; 2 NOMINAL; 3 OVERSIGHT; 4 DOTH; 5 ADAM'S APPLE; 6 OUTER; 7 DELIBES; 8 STUD; 13 STAGECRAFT; 15 OVERCHEAP; 16 TOMBSTONE; 18 ALCALDE; 20 TOLSTOI; 21 RUBY; 22 SUGAR; 24 TOSH.

so, I, and I am sure thousands of other disappointed readers and supporters of *The Nation*, want to know of it.

I personally feel that I am entitled to an explanation, either by mail or preferably in the columns of *The Nation*. A reasonable explanation will, I'm sure, clear the air and, more important, clear *The Nation*. JACQUES L. BROD

Philadelphia, September 24

[This is one of several letters we have received protesting against our publication of a paid advertisement for the *American Mercury*. Our position is easily stated. In the days when the *Mercury* was edited by Paul Palmer we considered it pro-fascist and criticized it sharply. Under his direction it printed many articles by known fascists.

When Palmer left, the policy of the paper was changed. It still publishes attacks on Communists and the Communist Party, but it publishes just as many articles attacking fascism and exposing fascist activities, especially in the United States. As the *Mercury* advertisement points out, John Roy Carlson's exposures of American fascism appeared in that magazine long before the appearance of his book "Under Cover." We by no means indorse the *Mercury's* editorial methods, but we do not consider it fascist or anti-Semitic under its present direction and therefore we see no justification for refusing to print its advertisements.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

CONTRIBUTORS

G. A. BORGESE is professor of Italian literature at the University of Chicago and the author of "Goliath: The March of Fascism."

LEWIS S. GANNETT is on leave of absence as daily book reviewer of the New York *Herald Tribune* and acting as a war correspondent for that paper.

KARL O. PAETEL lost his German citizenship when Hitler came to power because of his anti-Nazi books and articles. He later wrote a number of pamphlets for the French underground.

ODELL SHEPARD, former Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut, is professor of English at Trinity College. In 1937 he won the Pulitzer prize for biography with "Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott."

MILDRED ADAMS, a student of Spanish affairs, has translated a number of Spanish political works into English.

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